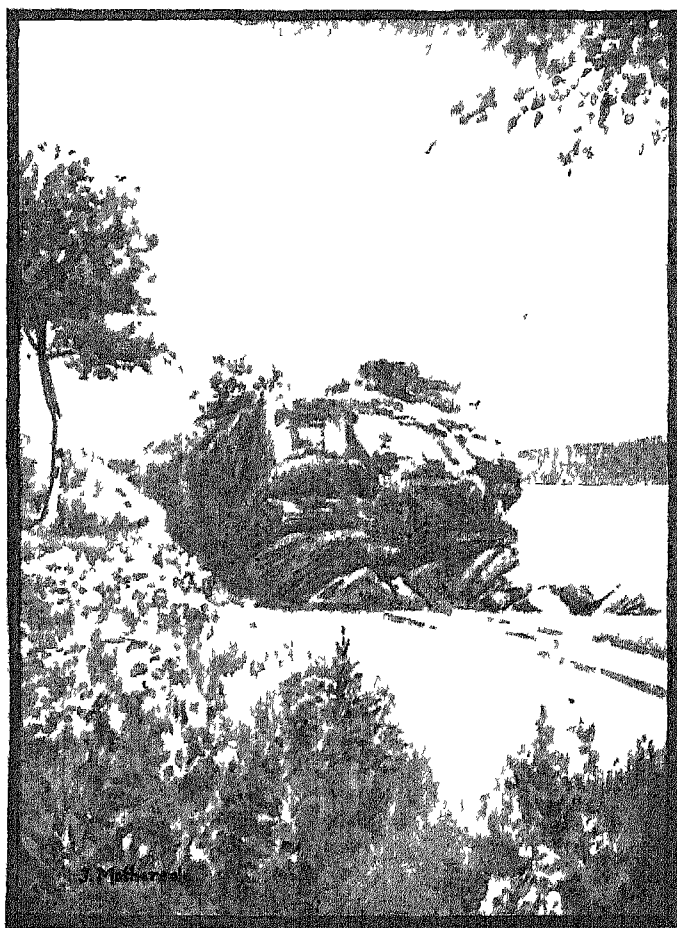


IN ROMAN SCOTLAND

BY THE SAME AUTHOR

HADRIAN'S WALL
THE SAXON SHORE
CZECHOSLOVAKIA
AGRICOLA'S ROAD INTO SCOTLAND

THE BODLEY HEAD



1. BAY OF CAMARINE WITH VIEW OFF SHORE

IN ROMAN SCOTLAND
BY JESSIE MOTHERSOLE
WITH ILLUSTRATIONS IN COLOUR
AND BLACK & WHITE BY THE AUTHOR

LONDON
JOHN LANE THE BODLEY HEAD LIMITED

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INTRODUCTION

ALTHOUGH the occupation of Scotland by the Romans lasted for but a single century, and was limited in extent as well as in duration, yet there still exist many striking proofs of their presence in the country. Naturally it is for the remains of forts and of temporary camps that we must look, and not for signs of Romanized civil life, such as are common in the south.

The second-century stone-built forts that have been excavated in Scotland are similar in plan to hundreds of others throughout the Empire, but they have features which call for special attention : the very massive earthen ramparts, the intricate system of outer defences, and the fortified annexes, to accommodate women, children, and traders. It cannot have been from any lack of stone that the defences were so frequently constructed of earth, but it may have been found that such ramparts resisted better the violent assaults of the native tribes.

Much light has been shed on the history of the Romans in Scotland since the beginning of the twentieth century. The excavations in 1902-3 of forts along the Antonine Wall—Bar Hill, Rough Castle, and Castlecary—disclosed the fact that

Agricola had only held this series of posts for a very short period, not more than a year or two, and it was conjectured that his occupation terminated with the abandonment of these forts. Then came the discoveries at Trimontium (Newstead, on the Tweed) in 1905-8, proving that the "Agricolan" hold on the country had endured—unshaken, though not unassailed—for a period of some thirty or forty years. Again, the discovery at Camelon, north of the Antonine Wall, of much first-century pottery, with other evidences of a prolonged early occupation, served to upset the theory that the Romans withdrew to a line along the Tweed soon after the departure of Agricola. Not only at Camelon, but also at Ardoch and Inchtuthil in Perthshire, evidence has been found of at least two, and possibly three, pre-Antonine permanent forts, proving continuous activity on the part of the Romans, even up to the very doorway of the Highlands, and even into the third decade of the second century.

In the first chapter of *Agricola's Road into Scotland* I have given a short account of the dealings of the Romans with Northern Britain, and it is not necessary to repeat it here. It is enough to recall the fact that Roman activity in Scotland can be divided into three well-marked periods:

1. The Agricolan Period, inaugurated by Agricola, in A.D. 81, and lasting, as we now know, for some thirty or forty years.

2. The Antonine Period, extending approximately from A.D. 142 to 181.

3. The invasion of Severus in A.D. 209-10, by far the shortest and least important of the three periods.

To the first period belong the original forts along the continuation of Dere Street right up into Perthshire, and also the original forts along the Forth-to-Clyde line. Blatobulgium (Birrens), one of the only two forts in Scotland whose Latin names have been handed down to us, seems to have been built at the end of this period as an outlier of Hadrian's Wall.

The second period is chiefly remarkable for the building of the Wall from Forth to Clyde, and for the reconstruction of Agricola's forts with probably the addition of several to their number.

The third period, merely comprising two military campaigns, is not likely to have left traces of any permanent building, except perhaps at Cramond, which has never been excavated.

There are temporary camps north of the Wall, even as far north as Aberdeenshire, which belong either to the first period or the third; it is not possible to say which. Two of these—Glenmailen in Aberdeenshire, and Raedykes in Kincardineshire—were explored in 1913 and 1914 by Sir George Macdonald and Professor Haverfield. They proved to be indubitably Roman, but nothing was found to show whether they were the work of Agricola on one of his last campaigns, or of Severus, a century and a quarter later.

In making this brief survey of all the permanent forts that are known to have existed in Scotland, I have relied for my information on the records of the archæological societies, chiefly those of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland. I am especially indebted to Sir George Macdonald, not only for his invaluable writings, on which I have drawn largely, but also for help he has given me in conversations. To Mr. R. G. Collingwood also I must again express my thanks.

I owe to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland the permission to use Plates 6, 7, 10, and Figures 2, 5, 6-11, 14-26, 35-40, 43, and 44; while Figures 1, 3, 4, 30-33, and 42 are included with the sanction of the Controller of H.M. Stationery Office.

The pilgrim in Roman Scotland will find that the distances between the various sites are too great to be covered in a reasonable time without the help of motor-car, train, or bus. Excepting the Antonine Wall and a few isolated stretches of Roman road, there is no continuous line to be traced on foot. Many of the sites can still lay claim to considerable beauty of natural surroundings, and perhaps the loveliest time of year for visiting them is early summer. In the case of the Wall, care must be taken to choose a month when the bracken is not breast-high upon the mounds.

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IN ROMAN SCOTLAND

IN ROMAN SCOTLAND

CHAPTER I

CHANNELKIRK AND CRICHTON

WE have seen in following Agricola's Road into Scotland that it was the custom of the Romans to plant permanent forts along their military roads at a distance of one day's march apart—that is to say, not much more than 10 English miles. Thus, if we take the eleven forts on Dere Street, from Cataractonium to Trimontium, the distance from fort to fort averages 10·2 miles. North of Trimontium we cease to be able to trace a continuous road, or a continuous series of permanent forts at regular intervals. We know from old records that the name of Dere Street was in use as far north as Dalkeith, but so far very little evidence has been gathered of the existence in Scotland of such carefully-made roads as are common in the south. Yet there are many traces of permanent forts, and of roads leading to them, as well as of large temporary camps for armies on the march.

According to Roy, Dere Street turned west after crossing the Tweed, and under the name of Girthgate could be traced in his day along the heights between the Allan and the Gala, making for Soutra Hill. In 1755 General Melville discovered a large temporary camp on what was then the main road between Lauder and Edinburgh. It was also a continuation of the Girthgate. The road passed through the site of the camp diagonally, and any traveller with an observant eye would be likely to notice the mounds on either side of the road. Melville appears to have communicated his find to General Roy, who visited the site in 1769 and made a sketch, but by that time a new high road to Edinburgh had been made farther east, and the old one had fallen into disuse. This camp is known as CHANNELKIRK. It is 13 or 14 miles north of Trimontium (Newstead), and a straight line drawn from the Eildons to Soutra Hill passes through it. Recently, Mr. James Hewat Craw, Secretary of the Berwickshire Naturalists' Club, has been carrying out excavations on the site, and from him I obtained directions as to how to find what remains to be seen.

I started with friends by car from Newstead, and, having crossed the Tweed, we took the road that runs up the valley of the Lauder. The river flowed far below us on the left, hidden in the deep shade of woods, and heavy trees overhung the road on

either side. The rounded peak of Black Hill rose above us, but indeed it deserves a less sombre name, for the natural tint of the soil conspires with the heather on its sides to give it a sunset glow even at midday. The beautiful warm red of the soil showed most conspicuously in the fields which were being harrowed, where flocks of white gulls followed at the horses' heels, picking up the worms, the whole picture recalling vividly Masefield's immortal ploughman in "The Everlasting Mercy."

The July afternoon was well advanced when we reached Carfraemill Inn, on the main Edinburgh Road, standing by itself just beyond the turning to Oxton, so we applied there for rooms for the night, only to find that it was already full, chiefly of fishermen. We were sent on to the Tower Hotel at Oxton, where we were met with the same reception. So we decided to see the Channelkirk Camp at once, and then to push on to Edinburgh. Continuing through Oxton, we crossed the Mountmill Burn, and at a fork, came to a gamekeeper's cottage, known as Braefoot, with rows of skins of weasels and stoats nailed upon the wall. Here we had to keep to the right, up an extremely steep and narrow lane. Towards the top of the hill we came to Channelkirk Church and manse, which seem strangely isolated now that this has ceased to be the main road to Edinburgh—or to anywhere else. We made inquiries at the manse, only to find

that the minister and his family had but lately come into residence, and knew nothing of the neighbourhood. We wanted to learn if there would be room to turn the car if we continued up this still narrowing lane, and they advised us to ask at the shepherd's cottage beyond the manse. A deafening noise proceeded from the back of the cottage, but no amount of knocking on the door produced any response. I went round to the back and found a small boy of three or four busily engaged in throwing large stones into a zinc bath, and revelling in the noise. When he saw me, he ran and fetched his mother, a gentle-voiced woman in a sunbonnet, and from her we learned that our best way was to go right on to Kirktonhill farmhouse, and to walk to the camp from there. By way of a drive through a plantation we reached the front of the farmhouse. The mistress of the house might almost have been expecting us, for, as we alighted, she ran out to meet us. When she heard our errand she sent her maid to fetch the steward to show us the position of the camp. It had evidently been a very large enclosure—probably fifty acres—including the whole of what is now a thirty-acre field, and extending considerably beyond. The steward pointed out the line along which the western rampart had run, and the position of the *titulus* (mound and ditch), which had lain across the entrance, proving the camp to be of

Roman origin. Excavations conducted by Mr. Craw definitely established the existence of this *titulus*. The field-wall is built along the western rampart. Part of the northern rampart is still clearly discernible, as a mound crossing obliquely under the north wall of the field.

At the south-west angle of the camp there is a small native fort distinguished by high mounds with fir trees growing on them. It is known locally as the "Rings."

Most of the Channelkirk Camp was under hay when we saw it, but the steward led us ruthlessly through the tall grass to show us all that was visible. The situation is striking, facing the steep slopes on the far side of the Raughy Burn, too steep in parts for the cultivation of anything but grass—although in Scotland they seem almost able to grow oats on the side of a house ! Our guide pointed to an ancient road to Gilston that runs north from the camp, up the side of a wood, adding that it was the continuation of a right of way from Channelkirk Church all along the north side of the camp. I was tempted to think that it might mark the Roman road. Roy, however, states that Dere Street left Channelkirk and Agricola's camp more than a mile on the right on its way to Soutra Hill.

His description of the camp is as follows :

" It is situated a little way to the northward of

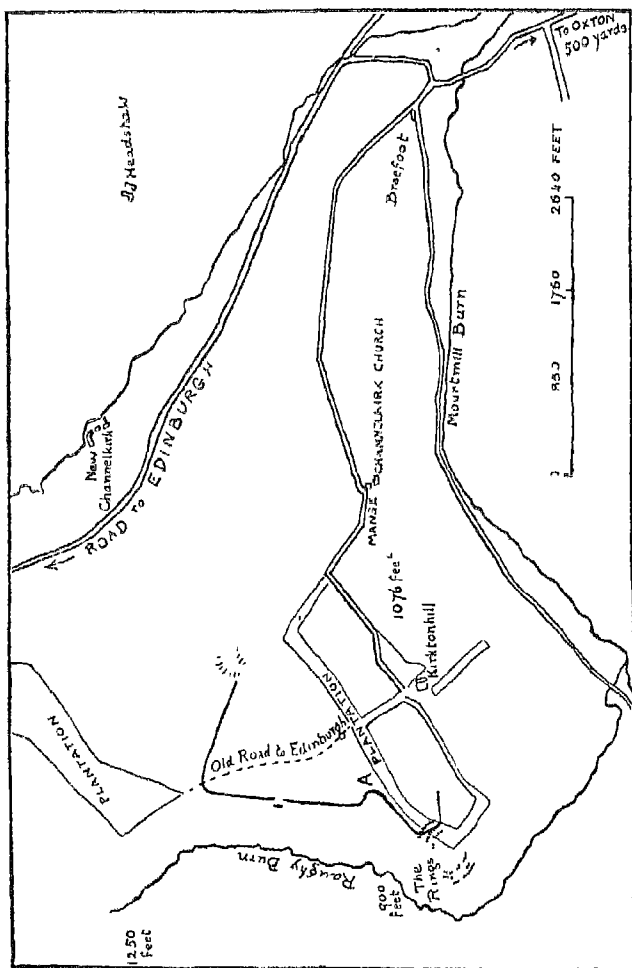


FIG. 1.—Plan of Channelkirk Camp, by J. Hewat Craw, F.S.A. Scot. Based on the O.S. Map.
(With the sanction of the Controller of H.M. Stationery Office.)

Channel Kirk, on the road from thence to Edinburgh, which leads through the camp. One gate, with the traverse covering it, exists on the west side. . . . Its dimensions cannot now be accurately determined, but it appears to have been of the same kind as those more entire ones on the west road, particularly that at Cleghorn, which is six hundred yards in length by four hundred and twenty in breadth."

He adds: "Near the south-west angle of this camp there is a small post or redoubt, that seems either to have joined to the camp itself or to have been connected with it by means of a line." This must be a reference to the "Rings," mentioned above.

A letter from Mr. Craw, which he kindly allows me to quote, throws very interesting light on the history of this site:

"I have marked the outlines of Agricola's Camp on the O.M. tracing, as far as I was able to verify them. I could not follow the trench farther on account of the stony character of the soil, which made it almost impossible to distinguish between disturbed and undisturbed ground.

"Most of the north limit is traceable on the surface, but not the straight west side. In the middle of the latter we found the *titulus*, which proved the Roman origin of the work. The trench of the portion south of the sharp bend A was much shallower than that to the north,

" Roy's plan is very incorrect in its proportions. His ' Redoubt ' is certainly a native fort. As the result of our excavations I am strongly of the opinion that the Roman rampart was designedly drawn to pass close to the two native ramparts, thus dominating the fort. After the Romans left, the natives returned to their fort, cutting a deep trench with a rampart as a third defence to their fort. This defence cuts across the Roman trench, as shown in my lines on the map. It is also shown in a plan of the fort which I made for the *Historical Monuments Committee's Report (Berwickshire)*, page 12. This straight line running like a chord across the fort puzzled me very much when surveying the fort, as being unlike anything I had seen in other native forts : it was not till I excavated some years later that I found that it connected with the trench shown by Roy.

" This surviving surface evidence of the domination by the Romans over the native tribes, and the eventual triumph of the latter, is of great interest. I do not know whether it can be paralleled elsewhere.

" The striking character of the post-Roman work, compared with the slight dimensions of the pre-Roman work, suggests that the native races had not failed to profit by the example of the Romans in entrenching."

On leaving Kirktonhill we were shown a short cut by a farm-track which brought us finally into the Edinburgh Road, and then we had a glorious run over Soutra Hill, where the cotton-grass lay

like a sheet of snow, and where gorgeous cock pheasants rose with a harsh cry from the heather clumps as we passed. Arthur's Seat and the Pentlands were faintly visible on the horizon until we dropped again into the plains. Three miles from Dalkeith they appeared again, against a glowing sky. A little radiant cloud hovered over each peak of Arthur's Seat, and long straight lines of brilliant gold struck across the sun. What is it that gives to Arthur's Seat its incomparable appeal, making it stir the blood even of those who cannot claim to have been born north of the Tweed? It rears its solemn head into the sky in such isolated majesty, and imperiously demands recognition. Surely the Romans must have used it in sighting their roads! A straight two-mile stretch of road between Lugton and Pathhead does seem to run in the direct line between Arthur's Seat and Soutra Hill, but that is far from proving it to be a Roman road!

It is not till we get near CRICHTON, 20 miles north of Newstead, that we come to the site of our first permanent fort, traced, not by any remains standing on the surface, but by the discovery of many worked Roman stones in a native earth-house on Crichton Mains Farm.

Sir George Macdonald writes :

" This site lies on a broad shelf, well down the

long slope that descends towards the north from the summit of Soutra Hill. It commands a most extensive view. In the immediate foreground is a series of low undulations through which the Tyne and the Esk force their way to the sea. Beyond is the plain of the Lothians, guarded on the north-west by the Pentlands, with Arthur's Seat as their sentinel. No traces of the Roman road are now discernible in the neighbourhood; nor is there any record of their ever having been observed later than the twelfth century, when Derestrete appears in a charter of King Malcolm in a context which brings it quite close to Dalkeith.

"... But ... on the shelf already mentioned there was discovered in 1869 a 'weem' or 'earth-house,' the builders of which have made liberal use of stones dressed by Roman masons."

The story of the discovery is given in volume viii. of *The Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*.

A ploughman was stopped in his furrow by the slipping of one of his horses' legs into a deep hole in the ground, and then it was found that the roofing stones of this earth-house lay only a few inches below the surface of the soil, and that the horse's hoof had passed through the roof into the chamber itself. These primitive buildings are very plentiful in Scotland, either singly or in groups, especially in the north, and they are all much on the same plan. A trench is dug some 8 or 10 feet deep, and

not more than 8 feet wide—very often much less. Its length varies from 10 feet to as much as 190. The sides of the trench are walled with unmortared stones, and slabs of stone are thrown across as a

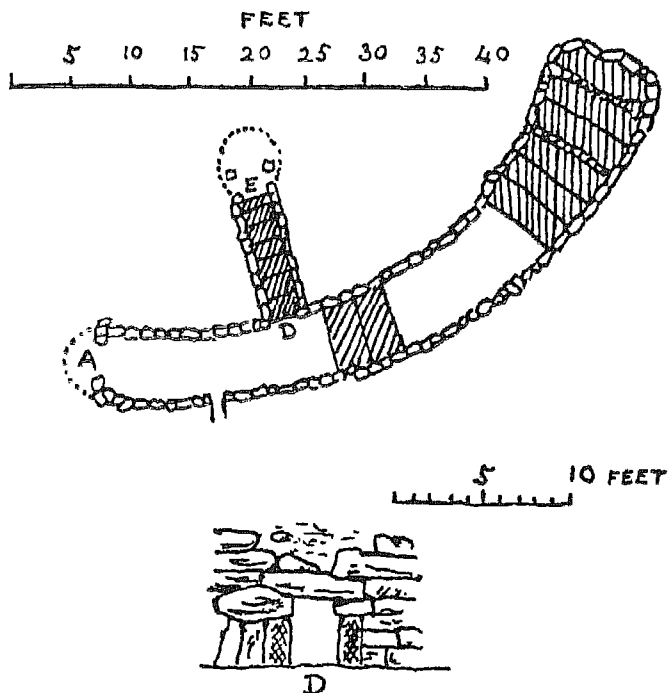


FIG. 2.—Plan of the Earth-House at Crichton Mains.
(Below : The doorway at D, showing Roman stones.)

roof. Then the whole is covered with soil and turf on a level with the surface of the ground.

The walls of the earth-house at Crichton Mains

average 6 feet in height, and are $51\frac{1}{2}$ feet long. But the fact with which we are most concerned is the one already mentioned—that they are studded here and there, especially near the top, with stones of Roman workmanship. There are 40 or 50 of these, some with diagonal or diamond broaching. Others, like gutter-stones, were found lying within the passage, and just outside. The principal doorway, A, is formed of two upright stones, 3 feet high, bridged across by a covering stone to make an entrance 33 inches wide. One of these upright stones has been squared, grooved, and chisel-marked by Roman hands.

A small branch passage, DE, with roofing stones complete, leads up to another entrance near the surface, and this passage also shows Roman stones in its walls, and on either side of the doorway, D.

The evidence seems conclusive that the native builders took the stone most ready to their hand and made their own structure on the site of the Roman fort, of which no trace now appears above the ground, and whose name also is entirely lost. But it must have formed an important link in our chain.

CHAPTER II

INVERESK

THE next site on the Roman road is at INVERESK, about $7\frac{1}{2}$ miles north-west from Crichton. The remains which have been discovered there give evidence that it was a stone-built fort, of great importance. Its limits have never been determined, for the whole area is now thickly covered with buildings, and it is only by chance that actual portions of Roman masonry have been uncovered in gardens or other open spaces from time to time.

I started for Inveresk with only one clue as to the whereabouts of the Roman fort—the one given me by Sir George Macdonald, that the church stood on the site. Accordingly on arriving at Inveresk Station, about 5 miles east of Edinburgh, I asked a fellow-traveller the way to the church, and she directed me; but when I told her what trail I was on she advised me to call first on Dr. Edie at the manse. As we walked she told me that Cromwell had stayed at Inveresk House while directing operations in 1650, and she quoted a legend that under his room was a secret chamber

in which had been discovered many years later the body of a Royalist, leaning forward to light the fuse which would fire a barrel of gunpowder. Later, I heard the foundation for this story. The skeleton of a man with a quantity of gunpowder had actually been found in a "subterranean way" (supposed to be Roman), when a new road was being made near Inveresk House. But how, when, and why he came there is a mystery.

The village of Inveresk was described one hundred and fifty years ago as "the finest in Scotland," and it still has a distinct charm of its own. Its stone houses are washed deep yellow, pink, cream, white, or parti-coloured, in picturesque variety, and the whole appearance of its principal street is made attractive by its gardens and overhanging trees. It merges now into Musselburgh, where the manse of Inveresk is actually situated.

Musselburgh (or Great Inveresk) is very proud of its antiquity. There is an old rhyme :

" Musselburgh was a burgh
When Edinburgh was nane ;
And Musselburgh 'll be a burgh
When Edinburgh is gane."

The suggestion that brugh or burgh means a mussel-bed, and that the rhyme is therefore a mere play on words, hails most probably from Edinburgh ! For Musselburgh was made a "burgh of regality" as far back as the days of Malcolm Canmore.

Inveresk is the name not only of the village by the church, but of the whole parish which includes Musselburgh.

I found Dr. Edie at home, and he gave me all possible assistance, lending me books, and ringing up Mrs. Young of Inveresk House to ask if I might call to see the Roman relics in the garden there. He also went with me to the churchyard, where the mound known as the Battery, or Oliver's Mount, is thought by some to be part of the original Roman fortifications. A path now runs along the top of it, with seats facing the sea. There is a beautiful view in every direction : northward, across the roofs of Musselburgh to the estuary and the hills of Fife, with the double mound of Inchkeith and its lighthouse rising from the sea ; westward, to Arthur's Seat and the spires of Edinburgh ; south-westward, to the Pentland Hills. There is every reason to believe that this mound, with another now destroyed, was made use of by Cromwell as a gun-emplacement in 1650, but they certainly do not owe their origin to him, for Patten, in describing the battle of Pinkie in 1547, refers to " the mounds in ye churchyard " as already existing. " Oliver's Mount " commands a complete view of the old bridge across the Esk, where we could see the foot-passengers going to and fro. The church, dedicated to St. Michael, was rebuilt in 1805. Before that it was a very ancient building, constructed largely of Roman

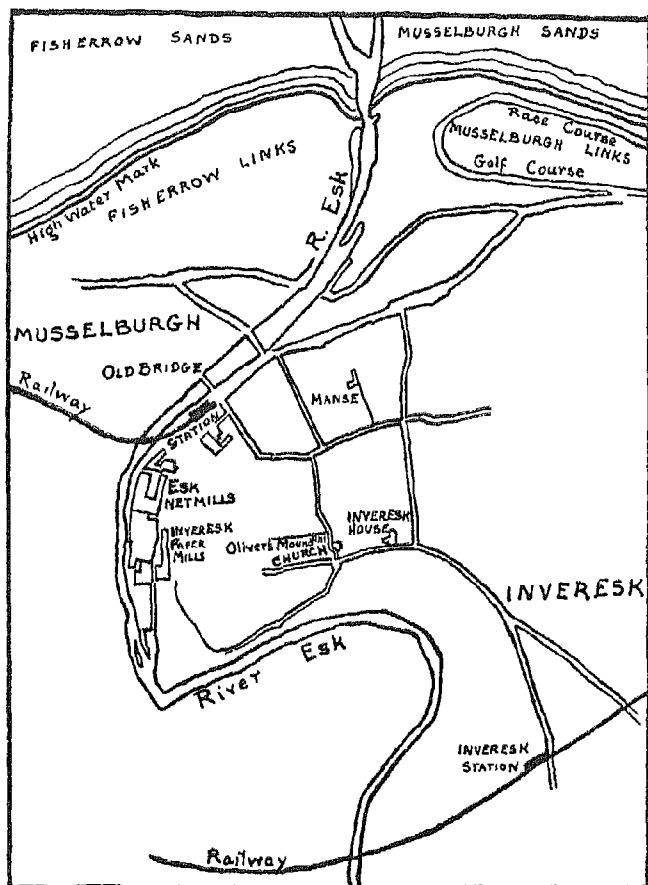


FIG. 3.—Map of Inveresk, based on the O.S. Map.

(With the sanction of the Controller of H.M. Stationery Office.)

Scale: 3 inches to the mile.

stones and bricks. Indeed, it is claimed that the only reason for originally erecting it on this spot must have been the abundant supply of building material ready to hand, for in 1547 there were no houses close by, except two shepherds' cottages. This old church was used by Cromwell in 1650 as cavalry barracks. The stones of which the present church is built appear to have been broached in imitation of the Roman broaching, but some of them may be actually Roman stones.

Neither Gordon in his *Itinerarium Septentrionale*, nor Horsley in his *Romana Britannia*, nor any early writer down to Sir Robert Sibbald, ever recognized a Roman fort at Inveresk, although the discovery there of a "cave" and an inscribed altar in 1565 might well have led them to suspect it. Randolph, ambassador at the Scottish court in the reign of Elizabeth, writes as follows, to the Earl of Bedford, in reference to the discovery :

" EDENBURGH, 7th April 1565.

" For certayne ther is founde a cave besyds Muskelbourge, stonding upon a number of pillars, made of tyle stones curieuslye wroughte, signefyinge great antiquetie, and strayne monuments found in the same. Thys comyethe to my knowledge, besyds the comon reporte, by th' assurance of Alexander Clerke, who was ther to see yt, wch I wyll do myself within these three or four dayes, and

wryte unto yor Ldship the more certayntie thereof, for I wyll leave nothyng of it unseen."

Again, on the 18th April, Randolph writes to Sir William Cecil :

" The cave found besyds Muskelbourge semeth to be some monument of the Romaines, by a stone that was found wth these words greven upon hym, *Appoloni Granno Q.S. Sabinianus Proc. Aug.* Dyvers shorte pillers sette upright upon the grounde, covered wth tyle stones, large and thyucke, torning into dyvers angles and certayne places lyke unto chynes (chimneys ?) to awoid smoke. Thys is all I cane gather thereof."

In Queen Mary's treasurer's accounts for that year is found the following entry :

" Aprile 1565.—Item to one boy passend of Edinburgh, with ane charge of the queenis grace, direct to the baillies of Mussilburgh, charging thame to tak diligent heid and attendance that the monument of grit antiquitie *now fundin* be nocht demolishit nor broken doun, xii. D."

John Napier of Merchiston, the inventor of logarithms, refers to this altar in his book, *A Plaine Discovery of the Whole Revelation of Saint John*, published in Edinburgh in 1593. He says : " In every part of that empire (*i.e.* the Roman) are there infinitie of their temples, idols, and other monuments erected, and even at Musselburgh, among ourselves in Scotland, a foundation of a Romane monument lately

found (now utterly demolished), bearing this inscription dedicatorie, *Apollini Granno Quintus Lucius Sabinianus Proconsul Aug.*"

So it would seem that Queen Mary's solicitude concerning the altar was in vain, and the shilling paid to the messenger boy was good Scots money thrown away.

The "cave" mentioned must have been merely part of the hypocaustal chamber. No doubt remains were constantly turned up during the two succeeding centuries, especially during the building of Inveresk House in 1643; but nothing is recorded till between 1765 and 1770, when a bowling-green was being made, and large fragments of earthenware were found, as well as Roman walls and cemented floors.

The next recorded discovery was in 1783, when some changes were being made in the garden of Inveresk House. Then more floors and foundations were uncovered, including what were evidently two rooms of a Roman bath-house. The floors were supported on hypocaust pillars 2 feet high, some of which were of stone, and others of circular bricks. Four of the stone pillars, supporting a piece of the cemented floor—and looking like a table for a Stone-Age dinner-party—are still to be seen in the garden, and foundations of stone walls are also there. Mrs. Young showed me all these when I called. She said there had been a Roman figure

VII cut deep into one of the tiles lying about, but we could not find it. The walls still visible were about 3 feet thick. Tumbler-shaped drain-pipes, to fit into each other, are preserved near the house.

The larger room uncovered was found to measure 15 feet by 9; the smaller, 9 feet by $4\frac{1}{2}$. The latter had a cement floor 12 inches thick, and the pillars beneath it showed signs of having been subjected to intense heat. A quantity of charcoal in perfect preservation was stored close by. Mr. James Wedderburn of Inveresk, in a letter to Mr. Adam Cardonnel, dated 2nd April 1783, writes concerning these bath-buildings: "It appears that pains have been taken to ruin them and cover them with so much earth."

These discoveries of 1783 were supervised and described by Dr. Alexander Carlyle, the famous "Jupiter Carlyle" whom Sir Walter Scott called a "demigod," and who was minister of the church of Inveresk for fifty-seven years, 1748-1805. Two coins were found among the ruins—an aureus of Trajan and a bronze of "Diva Faustina."

Other remains of the floors and hypocaust pillars of these baths are to be seen in the grounds of the house south of the church, on the opposite side of the road from Inveresk House. The first discoveries on this spot were made in 1827, when workmen employed in making a sunk fence came upon "a circle of curiously shaped stones, which seem to have

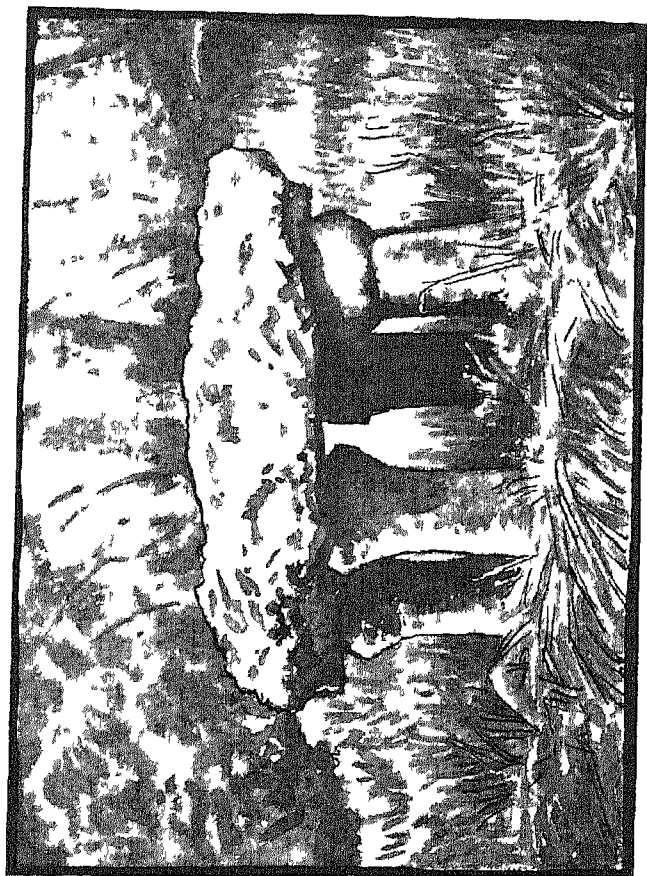


PLATE 5. HYPERCAUST MOUNTAINS IN THE CADDEN C. INDIAN HOUSE

formed a sacrificial altar." They bore the marks of fire. In their midst were two cinerary urns of baked clay, and scattered around there were fragments of half-consumed bones, wild boars' tusks, and deers' horns. An aureus of Vespasian was found beside the urns, which were quite whole when first uncovered, but were unfortunately broken by the diggers. Later, their very fragments were lost through some carelessness. They were from 8 to 10 inches high, circular, and tapering towards the base, which bore initial letters. Each contained a small quantity of ashes.

In the same garden, just beneath the windows of the house, a conduit constructed of Roman tile and brick was laid open. "The tiles were about a foot square, and from 2 to 3 inches in thickness, beautifully compact in structure, and quite unimpaired."

In about 1845 another urn was found, similar to those described above. The gardener was digging in a sandbank when his spade struck the vessel and cracked it. He knew its value and removed it carefully, intending to have it cemented, but one of his assistants, in search of some bits of potsherd for propping the saucers of flower-pots, lighted on this treasure and smashed it into a hundred pieces!

Before this, a vessel of Samian ware had been found by gravediggers in the churchyard, at a depth of 12 or 14 feet. This also was broken to pieces,

and then reburied in the sand, but a few fragments were rescued for the Edinburgh Museum.

A mysterious object of brass which puzzled all who saw it was picked up on the shore in about 1847. The finder kept it for some time on his dining-room mantelpiece, until one day a maid-servant, tempted by a pedlar with a display of kitchen crockery, offered him this piece of brass in exchange! So the record runs on, a continuous succession of findings and losings, showing what a vast amount of Roman material this site must have yielded down the centuries. In the field immediately west of the churchyard various relics of metal have been ploughed up, and afterwards lost.

There is a tradition that traces of Roman pavements and foundations have also been frequently found beneath the houses of Fisherrow, and ploughmen are stated to have said that all along the ridge from Inveresk to Pinkie Burn there are pavements which resist the plough, where corn will not grow in dry seasons. The only relic from Inveresk that I could find in the Queen Street Museum in Edinburgh—other than the coins—was a great stone pine-cone, probably from a tomb. Six coins have been found on the site altogether. Besides those mentioned above, there are two of Trajan (a denarius and a second brass) and a denarius of Hadrian. One piece of pottery could be identified as Agricolan.

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After sketching the hypocaust pillars in the grounds of Inveresk House, I went down the hill through Musselburgh to the Old Bridge, still called locally the Roman Bridge, and believed to be such by various antiquaries in the past. It is now recognized that not a single bridge in use to-day can with any probability be ascribed to the Romans, although in some cases the bridge we tread may have been erected on the site of an original Roman bridge. Even that is not likely to be common, considering the changes in the courses of rivers. The old Musselburgh Bridge is very picturesque, and of undoubted antiquity, as years count with bridges. It is only for foot-passengers, being approached by a flight of steps at each end. The "New" Bridge, built in 1809 a little lower down the stream, carries all wheeled traffic. Dr. Macbeth Moir tells us that when this was being built, the breakwaters at the piers of the Old Bridge were also strengthened. Part of the stone facings were removed down to the foundations of the pier, "which were found to consist of transverse beams of oak, on which a mass of building, decidedly Roman in its materials, was piled, and which materials were quite different and distinct from those used in the external and more modern facings of the building." This is circumstantial enough; and yet—it would take a great deal more to make one believe that any part of the fabric is Roman. Dr. Moir adds:

"In Mr. Wedderburn's time the remains of a Roman way leading to the bridge on one side, and from it towards the harbour, by Market Street, on the other, were still visible." Sir Robert Sibbald in 1705 wrote: "The track of a Roman road appeareth yet, in the way from Musselburgh to Lugton and from thence to Borthwick."

I crossed the Old Bridge, fascinated by it, and then walked by the side of the river, trying to find a good point of view for sketching it. At the door of a tenement house I stopped, regretfully admitting to myself that I needed to get much higher above the river for a really good view. A young man, who had evidently been through the war, had been watching me, and guessing what I wanted, he said, "There's a very good view of the bridge from the top of this house. Do come up. My mother will be pleased." I accepted his invitation, and followed him up several flights of stone steps. His mother must have been rather surprised at such a visitation, but she received me very courteously. So did her husband, a miner out of work, who apologized for being in his shirt-sleeves. Their place was spotlessly clean, though there were many signs of poverty. This son was the only one left out of four. A photograph of four bonnie lads in khaki hung on the wall, and the mother pointed it out with pride, saying in a matter-of-fact way, "Now I hae but Donal', and he's no' bonnie any mair ; but

he's a guid lad." They had much to say about "Roman brigs," especially one near Hamilton, where the father used to work. I was given minute instructions as to how to find it. "Gae to Hamilton Pawlis (*i.e.* Palace) Colliery, by bus fro' Hamilton, an' the brig is quite close. A Roman road ower it goes richt to Motherwell. It isna a used road now." And the mother added, "Juist ane arch, and nae side walls at a' to keep ye frae tummelling ower. When I hae crossit it wi' ane of the bairns clingin' to each o' me hands, I hae said, 'Haud tight, or ye'll be ower the edge.' The Roman brig is the name we always gie it. Ay; we lived in thae pairts fifteen year; I min' the day when we wir movin' frae Hamilton wi' the van and furniture. I thocht we'd hae been washed awa'. The Clyde was ower its banks and richt into the road."

Then the father looked at me with a twinkle in his eye, and said, "I'll show ye a Roman camp from this verra window." I was sceptical, but he pointed out a hill towards the right, on the top of which there was a clump of trees. "Ye see thae trees? Yon's the Roman camp above Newbattle Abbey." And afterwards I found it marked so in my Ordnance map at a spot about 6 miles from where we stood.

Although the windows afforded a very good bird's-eye view, I was now too high up above the bridge to make a sketch; so "Donal" insisted on taking me to the first-floor, where they knew the lady,

he said. He knocked at the door, and a woman put her head out. She turned away and said something to some one inside before opening the door any wider. Then she said, "Ye can coom in an' welcome." It was a large, poorly-furnished room with several windows overlooking the bridge. On entering I was rather taken aback to see a man sitting on the side of the bed hurrying into his clothes. He was apparently on night-work. I apologized for having disturbed them, but neither of them seemed the least bit disconcerted, inviting me to the windows, and begging me to stay. So stay I did, and settled myself at the farthest window, while the man went on with his dressing. When I left I was very anxious to make some amends for my intrusion, but the woman would take nothing, smiling and saying, "We're puir, but we're no *that* puir."

Donald possessed a small camera, so he accepted a commission for some snapshots in the neighbourhood, which in due time he faithfully discharged.

I returned to Edinburgh from Musselburgh Station, which almost adjoins the bridge.

CHAPTER III

CRAMOND

FROM Inveresk the Roman road appears to have turned westward and followed the coast as far as CRAMOND, the site of our next fort, one of the most important and extensive of Roman centres in Scotland.

"It is certain," says Chalmers, "as remains attest, that a Roman road led from Inveresk to Cramond, along the coast of the Forth." Now the "remains" have disappeared, all except a short stretch on the eastern outskirts of Edinburgh, known as the "Fishwives' Causeway." A great deal of this was torn up during the construction of the North British Railway Company in the middle of the last century.

Cramond can easily be visited by motor-bus from Edinburgh, whence it is only a distance of 4 miles. The village caters for visitors, offering tea-rooms on the banks of the Almond and boats for hire on the river.

A winding road leads, in a five minutes' walk from where the bus stops, to the mouth of the Almond and the shores of the Firth of Forth, where

a Roman eagle is carved on a rock. The church and the manse are passed on the way. Having learned from Sir George Macdonald that the church stands, like that of Inveresk, in the centre of the Roman fort, I called at the manse to make inquiries. The

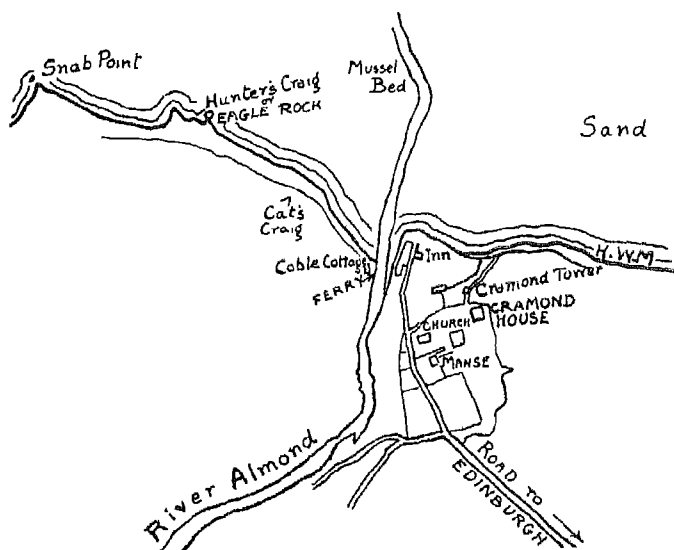


FIG. 4.—Map of Cramond, based on the O.S. Map.
(With the sanction of the Controller of H.M. Stationery Office.)
Scale : 3 inches to the mile.

minister, Dr. Gordon Stott, very kindly offered to show me all the points of interest. He told me that when a drain was being made on the north-west of the manse a Roman wall was uncovered, 8 feet down, and also part of a tile-pavement. The wall

runs from the north-east angle of the church to the south-east angle of the churchyard, across the manse gardens, and into the garden beyond. There were a number of Roman stones lying about in the manse garden, including half a quern, and a piece of a gutter-stone. Dr. Stott told me that quantities of these had been found in the graves. It was the old custom to throw them in on the top at the time of a burial. One, a block of red sandstone with the unmistakable Roman diamond-broaching, has been built up into the fabric of the church under Dr. Stott's instructions. He said that the north end of the manse is supposed to stand on the site of potteries of the third century, for many broken pieces of that period have been dug up there.

There is evidence of Agricola's presence here. In this connection Sir George Macdonald writes :

" It is clear from the narrative of Tacitus that Agricola knew the value of sea-power. He is not likely to have overlooked the advantages that would accrue from making the coast the supply-base for his Scottish garrisons. Not merely the north of Scotland but the west and south-west had still to be reduced. The finding of Republican denarii on the site of the fort at Cramond—within view, be it added, of Rosyth—not improbably indicates that the harbour there was one of the stations of his fleet, for these coins dropped out of circulation about the close of the Flavian age."

Many coins of the Antonine period have also been found here, and thus the history of the site up to A.D. 181 would seem to fall into line with that of Newstead and Cappuck. But Cramond has a further history. It has yielded four coins of Septimius Severus, and from this it is gathered that the fleet of that Emperor attacked and took possession of the site during his first Scottish campaign in 209.

The fact that much of the building stone employed is red sandstone points also to the presence of a fleet, for the nearest red sandstone quarries are at Dunbar, whence supplies could have been brought by sea very easily, but only with difficulty by land.

From the manse garden we went to the churchyard, where there is an old tomb embellished with a stone urn. The tomb is in memory of John Knox's nephew by marriage, to whose duty it fell to draw up the Covenant. It is one of the oldest of tombstones, for it was set up in 1662, and the custom of erecting such memorials was only revived in this country somewhere about 1660. But its chief interest for us lies in the urn, which is said to be a piece of Romano-British sculpture. It is encircled with festoons of grapes and the heads of cherubs—or genii, perhaps I should say, if it is Roman work.

After noting the Roman stones built into the church, we went on into the grounds of Cramond

House, where there is an old well, hidden away in the back premises near the cow-byres. Dr. Stott told me that Mr. James Curle and Dr. Ross had examined the stones built in at the bottom, and had judged them to be Roman.

Such are the very slight traces of the fort now apparent on the surface, but if the graveyard and manse garden were excavated there would surely be found the foundations of many buildings arranged on the usual Roman plan. Inscriptions show that the Fifth Cohort of the Gauls and the Second Cohort of the Tungrians were garrisoned here. On an altar dug up long ago in "Sir John English's garden," that is, in the garden of Cramond House, there is the following inscription :

*"Matribus Alatervis et Matribus Campestribus Cohors II
Tungrorum posuit."*

("The Second Cohort of Tungrians erected [this] to the Alatervian Mothers and the Mothers of the Plains.")

At the bottom is the name of the XXth Legion. On the strength of this inscription, it was thought at one time that the Roman name for the fort might perhaps have been "Alatervia," but scholars are now agreed in rejecting this altogether. The triple mother-goddesses were foreign deities, imported by the auxiliaries, and they were frequently named after the localities where they had been originally worshipped. There is a sculptured stone, showing

these three goddesses, built up into a garden wall at Hailes, about 5 miles south-east of Cramond. It is more than likely that this stone was removed from the site of the fort. The group is a particularly interesting one, of better workmanship than those usually found in Britain, and the fact that the central "mother" holds a bunch of large grapes such as Caledonia could never have produced, would suggest that the soldiers who set it up came, as the Tungrians did, from a grape-producing country. This Second Cohort of Tungrians we know to have been stationed at Birrens from A.D. 158 to the final abandonment of the fort in about 181.

Another altar from Cramond was dedicated to Jupiter by the Fifth Cohort of the Gauls, and a small stone dug up bore the name of Leg. II. Aug. So we have evidence that two Legions worked here, the Second and the Twentieth, and that the garrison consisted of Gauls and Tungrians, probably at different periods.

Sibbald writes of two pieces of stone columns, "found near the Manor of Inglestown," which is about 4 miles up the river from Cramond. They are inscribed :

" Imp. Cæsari M. Aur. Antoninus Aug.

Pio patri patriæ consuli III.

Cohors I Cugernorum sub aura Monti M . . . "

This would suggest that the First Cohort of Cugerni

was also stationed here at some time. They came from the Rhine, near Düsseldorf, and are mentioned in the diplomas of A.D. 104 and 124.

A mansion of the Bishops of Dunkeld is said to have been erected on the site of the Roman buildings, and was not improbably built of Roman stones. All that now remains of it is a single tower standing in the grounds of Cramond House, and known as Cramond Tower.

It would appear that traces of the fort itself were still conspicuous a couple of centuries ago. Alexander Gordon writes (1726) in his *Itinerarium Septentrionale*: "At Cramond, about four miles west from Edinburgh . . . are still to be seen vestiges of another great Roman station. Here several Roman inscriptions have been dug up, and an incredible Quantity of Roman Coins of Gold, Silver, and Brass, of all sorts." He mentions coins of Cæsar Augustus, Nero, Galba, Vespasian, Domitian, Nerva, Trajan, Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, Severus, and Julia Domna, as well as Republican denarii. To this list must be added the names of Claudius, Titus, Faustina Senior, Marcus Aurelius, Faustina Junior, Lucilla, Caracalla, Plautilla, and Geta, but nothing later than the sons of Severus has been found.

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Gordon refers to a Roman road, "A noble Mili-

tary Way," running from here towards Edinburgh, "discernible but a little way."

Roy speaks of "The Station of Cramond," adding, "Till of late years the traces of it were very entire, and may even now be discerned." Of the road he says: "From Cramond, crossing the river of that name, it is said to have passed over Barnbugle-hill, and so by Queen's-ferry and Abercorn to Caer-ridden, situate at or near the eastern extremity of the wall of Antoninus." He also mentions a stone pedestal standing on Barnbugle-hill, by the Roman road.

Resisting a tempting invitation to stay for tea and strawberries on the lawn in front of the manse, I continued my way down towards the sea. A steep flight of steps between two houses on the left led down to the river-bank, where rows of cottages advertised their willingness to minister to the needs of the passer-by. A loaded ferry-boat was just starting to cross the river to the wooded grounds of Dalmeny on the other side, but, seeing me, the ferryman pulled back and waited. I was carrying a small leather attaché case and a camera, and he shouted to me that I could not enter the boat with "that." A girl from one of the cottages ran out and offered to take charge of the attaché case, which I thus discovered to be the offending article. The ferryman looked at my camera significantly

and said, "We don't mind *them* now. We used to!" The boat was full of very lively boys and girls—a party of students from Canadian Universities, as the ferryman told me later. I asked him about the Eagle Rock, now a scheduled Ancient Monument, and he said laconically, "It's protected too late." As we landed beneath the trees, the Canadians were gaily greeted by an elderly man with every appearance of a Scottish "laird"—bonnet, tartan kilt, and sporran complete—and they trooped off in the direction of Dalmeny House under his guidance. The path led us by a small house on the bank appropriately named "Coble Cottage," and then followed close along the shore. Notices requested visitors not to leave the footpath, but it was so lovely that there seemed little temptation to do so. Wild roses, the richest carmine or the palest pink, lifted their delicate heads against the grey-green of Cramond Island, or the silvery blue of the sea, or the deeper grey-blue of the coast of Fife, with the Ochil Hills rising beyond. The beach itself was literally blue with mussel-shells, and masses of rosy dropwort (the willow-leaved kind) grew on either side of the path, interspersed with tall stems of comfrey. Soon the Eagle Rock came into sight, a great boulder standing up on the beach, but united by a narrow neck to the land. The Canadian students were gathered near it as I drew near. The Roman

emblem is carved high up on the rock, in a recess cut to receive it. It has suffered much at the hands of time and man, but the poor battered image still bears a faint resemblance to the shape of an eagle. Some blatant egotist has cut his initials just where the head must have been, and now a strong wire-grid veils from our eyes all that is left. Whether it dates back to the days of Agricola, or was the handiwork of the soldiers of Antoninus, or Severus, who can say? In trying to see it from a better point of view, I slipped on the burnt grass at the edge of the low cliff and found myself over the edge before I had time to think; but my feet caught a projection in the rock, and with my hands I was able to grip the edge. A tall young Canadian was on the spot in a moment. Shouting, "Wait there; don't move or you'll fall farther," he leant over the edge and pulled me up to safety; and to prevent my feeling foolish he added, with more gallantry than truth, "It's a very dangerous spot with all that burnt grass; I'm sure you are by no means the first who has fallen down there this afternoon."

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From this spot Dalmeny House, the seat of Lord Rosebery, and also the remains of Barnboughe Castle, both more than a mile away, could be seen rising from amidst the trees. I retraced my steps to the ferry-boat, and having recrossed the river,

made my way along the shore in the opposite direction, where certain recesses in the coast are thought to represent the traces of Roman harbours. It may be that excavation would bring to light the remains of a Roman quay, such as Mr. Miller has uncovered at Old Kilpatrick, at the west end of the Wall of Antonine. It was not pleasant walking here, for the beach was covered with cinders, interspersed with great boulders, so after sitting a while on a boulder, whence I could see the ferry-boat gliding across from Granton to Burntisland, and the twin-mounds of Inchkeith with its lighthouse rising from the smooth waters of the Firth, I took my leave of Cramond without further exploration.

CHAPTER IV

THE ANTONINE WALL

THE most famous relic of the Romans in Scotland is the great Wall from Forth, to Clyde, known as the Antonine Wall, after the Emperor, Antoninus Pius. The popular name of Graham's Dyke is found in use as early as the fourteenth century. "Graham" was traditionally a native hero who broke through the Wall, but, no doubt, the word is really the same as "Grim," which occurs in the names of earthworks in other parts of Britain. Its use seems to be analogous to that of "Devil" in place-names, hinting at a mysterious or supernatural origin, for Grim was a fabulous giant.

In the standard work on the Wall, *The Roman Wall in Scotland*, by Dr. (now Sir) George Macdonald (1911), we have a description of absorbing interest, not only to the specialist, but also to the ordinary reader, and with its help any one can trace the line of the Wall from sea to sea, a distance of little more than 36 miles. It was my original intention merely to refer my readers to this famous work, but on second thoughts it seemed impossible not to include

in a work on Roman Scotland a brief account of the Wall, with discoveries made since 1911.

This Wall was built, not of stone like the Wall of Hadrian, but of turf in its western, of earth and clay in its eastern portion. The sods were laid in horizontal courses, like bricks, and throughout the whole length there was a stone foundation varying from $14\frac{1}{2}$ to $15\frac{1}{2}$ feet in width.

The Glasgow Archæological Society carried out excavations along the Wall between 1890 and 1893 with the express purpose of determining once for all how it had been built. It was then that the thin black lines seen in sections of the Rampart were first recognized as conclusive proof that it had been constructed of turves, laid in regular order, course upon course, the decayed vegetable matter thus giving us its autograph in dark parallel pencillings seen against the lighter colour of the earth. This discovery proved the accuracy of the statement of Julius Capitolinus (third century), that Lollius Urbicus built a *muris cespiticius* (turf wall).

Until excavations were carried out at Mumrills in 1912, it was thought that the Rampart was built of turves throughout its entire length. But it has now been proved that from Falkirk eastwards to Inveravon, and perhaps even to Bridgeness, it is constructed on a different plan. The stone foundation is the same as elsewhere, but when sections were made in the Rampart itself not a sign of the

familiar black lines was to be seen on their faces. It was, moreover, noticed that quantities of whitish clay appeared when the soil was disturbed. On examination, it was found that this clay, brought up probably from the Carse, had been heaped up on either margin of the stone foundation, directly on the stones, filling up the interstices, and that, not turves, but earth had formed the main component of this section of the Rampart, supported by and resting on these mounds of clay. It was often possible after this discovery to trace the course of the Wall where all else had disappeared, by following the two parallel bands of whitish matter which the plough had thrown up. Sir George Macdonald suggests that this change in construction may have arisen through a scarcity of turf in this district, due perhaps to the presence of thick forests in Roman times.

The actual Wall, or Rampart, has been levelled to the ground through the course of ages, except in woods or on the open moor, but the stone base, enclosed by lines of kerb-stones, and crossed at intervals by stone culverts, exists still for a great part of the original distance, though seldom visible on the surface. It is usually quite familiar to the farmers through whose land it runs.

As to the original height of the turf or earthen superstructure, nothing definite is known, but 10 feet is suggested as probable,

A great Ditch, at least 12 feet in depth when first made, ran on the northern side of the Rampart, separated from it by a berm, or flat interval, of very varying width, most frequently about 20 feet, but increasing to as much as 116 feet on Croy Hill. The Ditch was either V-shaped or had a flat bottom not more than 2 feet wide. Its width on the surface seems to have averaged not less than 40 feet, except where it has been hewn out of the solid rock, and there it is found to be sometimes hardly more than 20 feet.

The upcast from the Ditch has been thrown up to form a mound along its northern edge, known to archæologists as the Outer Mound. This is in some parts more conspicuous now than the Rampart itself.

South of the barrier there was the usual Military Way, running from fort to fort, and still traceable in places. It was about 17 feet in width, laid with a base of larger stones and a surface of smaller, and with a definite camber.

The neck between Lowland and Highland Scotland seems particularly suitable for a barrier of this kind. A valley runs right across, enclosed by low hills on the south and by higher hills on the north. The position chosen for the Wall is on the northern slope of the low hills: seldom on the crest, but sometimes 30 or 40 yards below the summit, sometimes more, sometimes a good deal less.

The number of forts along the Wall seems to have been nineteen. The distance between each pair only averages about 2 miles, as compared with the nearly 5 miles between the forts on Hadrian's Wall; and the maximum distance between any pair of forts is only $2\frac{3}{4}$ miles, as compared with $7\frac{1}{2}$ miles in the case of Hadrian's Wall. On the other hand, no mile-castles or intermediate turrets are known to have existed at regular intervals along the Scottish Wall, though there are here and there platforms projecting from its south face which may be the sites of wooden towers corresponding to the turrets of the English Wall.

The largest known fort is Mumrills, containing $4\frac{3}{4}$ acres; the smallest is Rough Castle, only a little more than an acre. In general plan and in the arrangement of the inner buildings those that have been excavated follow the pattern of hundreds of Roman frontier forts throughout the Empire—that is to say, they are four-sided, with rounded corners, surrounded by a rampart of turf, stone, or earth, and by one or more ditches; having a gate in each side; and enclosing a headquarters-building or Principia, at least one granary, and barrack-rooms for the troops. A set of baths was indispensable, and was placed sometimes within the rampart, more frequently outside in an annexe. Four of the sites that have been excavated (Bar Hill, Castlecary, Rough Castle, and Old Kilpatrick) proved to have

been originally occupied by Agricola in the first century, but a fifth, Balmuildy, gave no evidence of having been occupied prior to the building of the great Wall by Lollius Urbicus in A.D. 142. The forts built at the same time as the Wall are defended on their north sides by the Wall and its Ditch, their eastern and western ramparts being linked up with the Wall. Bar Hill is an exception. It lies entirely to the south of the Wall. It was one of Agricola's sites reoccupied; and it was not convenient to carry the Wall up the steep sides of the hill to join its northern rampart.

FORTS ON THE ANTONINE WALL

Name.

1. OLD KILPATRICK . . . Excavated for Glasgow Archæological Society in 1923-24.
About 4 acres.
2. DUNTOCHER . . . 3(?) acres.
3. CASTLE HILL . . . 1½ acres.
4. NEW KILPATRICK . . . About 3½ acres.
5. BALMUILDY . . . Excavated for Glasgow Archæological Society in 1913-14.
Over 4½ acres.
6. CADDER . . . Over 2½ acres.
7. KIRKINTILLOCH.
8. AUCHENDAVY . . . Over 2½ acres.
9. BAR HILL . . . Excavated for the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland in 1902.
Agricolan fort . Half an acre.
Antonine fort . Just over 3 acres.

10. CROY HILL . . . About $2\frac{1}{8}$ acres.
11. WESTERWOOD . . . Nearly $2\frac{1}{2}$ acres.
12. CASTLECARY . . . Excavated for the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland in 1902-3. $3\frac{1}{2}$ acres.
13. Seabegs.
14. ROUGH CASTLE . . . Excavated for the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland in 1902-3. Just over 1 acre.
15. FALKIRK.
16. MUMRILLS . . . Excavated for the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland in 1923-27 . . . $4\frac{3}{4}$ acres.
17. INVERAVON.
18. Kinneil.
19. BRIDGENESS.

(Seabegs and Kinneil are conjectural sites.)

We know the Latin names of many of the forts on Hadrian's Wall, and of two of the forts in the Scottish Lowlands, but in the case of the Antonine Wall not a single name is revealed to us.

In making a comparison between the English and Scottish Walls, we are bound to admit that for the traveller and the student Hadrian's Wall has in some respects the greater claim to interest. Not only is its length twice as great— $73\frac{1}{4}$ miles as compared with 36 miles—not only does it climb hills more than twice as high, but the scenery through which it passes is more striking and varied

in character. For the greater part of its course the Antonine Wall runs, as we have seen, along the northern slope of a range of low hills, and overlooks a valley shut in on the north by a line of higher hills. At its eastern end, the character of the country changes, and the Wall looks down on the level Carse of Falkirk. The situation is always interesting ; on Bar Hill and Croy Hill it is striking ; but there is no long lonely stretch of open country such as for 14 miles we have to follow along the course of Hadrian's Wall. There are no such impressive remains of forts, such as we see at Chesters, Housesteads, and Birdoswald ; no lengths of massive stone-built wall leading us up hill and down dale for miles together. There is, indeed, hardly anything to be seen of the Scottish barrier but the great Ditch and fragments of grass-covered mounds. Yet to trace these is a fascinating pursuit, and there are many beautiful views, many pleasant passages through pastoral land, along the line. And there is at least one point in which the Antonine Wall can claim superiority over the English Wall, and that is in its building record. At different points along its course there have been found many inscribed stones, known as "distance-slabs," or "legionary tablets." From a study of these, experts have been able to gather the way in which the building of the Wall was divided and apportioned. There has thus been preserved, in the

words of Sir George Macdonald, "a building record which for fullness and precision is without a parallel on any other Roman frontier, or, indeed, in any other part of the Roman world."

The inscriptions on these slabs record the construction of a specified number of paces or feet by a detachment of one of the three Legions—the Second, the Sixth, or the Twentieth; and in most cases the name of the Emperor Antoninus Pius is given. On only two of the stones do the words *OPVS VALLI*, "the work of the Wall," actually occur. In the case of another two, the number of paces or feet has not been filled in, from which it is assumed that these tablets were never really used.

On the following page is a list of all the slabs that have been found.

It will be seen from this list that only one slab has been discovered at the eastern end of the Wall, the very highly-decorated tablet from Bridge-ness. We have to travel westwards for more than 22 miles before we come to the next find-spot, near Kirkintilloch, and as many as thirteen of the seventeen on the list have actually been found in the last 8 miles of the Wall! Another point to notice is that, while in the case of the first eight slabs the measurement is reckoned in Roman paces (M.P.), in the case of the remaining nine the measurement is in Roman feet (P. or P.P.),

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Find-Spot.	Date Found.	Length of Wall.	Legion.
1. Bridgeness	1868	4652 paces	II.
2. $\frac{3}{4}$ mile east of Kirkintilloch	1789 about 1740	3304 "	XX.
3. " " " " " "	before 1607	" —	VI.
4. Unknown	not later	3000 "	XX.
5. At Millochan, $\frac{1}{2}$ mile north-west of Balmudly.	than 1694	3666 $\frac{1}{2}$ "	II.
6. At Millochlan, $\frac{1}{2}$ mile north-west of Balmudly.	1803	" "	VI.
7. Probably at Castle Hill	not later than 1606	" "	II.
8. Castle Hill	not later than 1699	" "	VI.
9. " " " " " "	1847	3000 feet	XX.
10. 3000 feet west of Castle Hill	1865	" "	XX.
11. Probably near Duntocher	before 1695	" —	XX.
12. $\frac{1}{2}$ mile south-east of Duntocher	1812	3240 " " OPVS VALLI "	VI.
13. Near Duntocher	before 1845	4140 feet	II.
14. Carleith, west of Duntocher	" 1699	3271 "	II.
15. Near western end of Wall	" 1695	4141 " " OPVS VALLI "	VI.
16. " " " " " "	" 1695	4411 feet	XX.
17. At or near Old Kilpatrick	" 1684	" "	XX.

a Roman pace being equivalent to five Roman feet. The distance-slabs were evidently placed much nearer together at the western end of the Wall, but by reckoning the shorter distances in feet instead of in paces, the actual figures recorded were kept approximately the same. Professor Haverfield considered that "the choice of the foot as a unit was probably dictated by the consideration that it would enable the soldiers to magnify their achievement by placing larger numbers on the stones."

A third point to observe is that the same number of paces or feet is twice repeated on duplicate slabs, and that the distance " $3666\frac{1}{2}$ paces" occurs four times over. The duplicate slabs are explained when we learn that the plan followed was to inscribe two stones for every section carried out, one to be placed at each end of the length of Wall to which it referred. The slabs, Nos. 9 and 10, inscribed P.P. $\overline{\text{III}}$ (3000 feet), were dug up at points about 3000 Roman feet apart, while Nos. 6 and 8 were found about $3666\frac{1}{2}$ Roman paces from each other—the very distance given on the stones.

An examination of the inscriptions on slabs found between Castle Hill and Old Kilpatrick shows that *six very short sections of differing lengths* were carried out by working-parties from the three Legions, as follows :

THE ANTONINE WALL

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Leg. XX.	.	.	3000 feet	
			<u>4411 feet</u>	7411 feet
Leg. II.	.	.	4140 feet	
			<u>3271 feet</u>	7411 feet
Leg. VI.	.	.	3240 feet	
			<u>4141 feet</u>	7381 feet
TOTAL	.	.	.	22,203 Roman feet
				=4.135 English miles.

And this is as nearly as possible the actual distance between the two forts.

From the above figures, it appears that there were two working-parties, one stronger than the other, drawn from each of the three Legions, and that this short odd length at the end of the Wall was divided up between the six parties. This would explain why distance-slabs have been found so thickly scattered between Castle Hill and Old Kilpatrick, for on this short section of 4 miles there must originally have been twelve inscriptions.

Taking all these points into consideration, archæologists have arrived with a degree of certainty at the actual plan of action adopted by Lollius Urbicus in building the Wall. It seems to have been as follows :

Finding it necessary to erect a barrier across the isthmus, he naturally decided to make use of the fort-sites, so well chosen by Agricola nearly sixty years earlier, to rebuild the forts and to incorporate

them in his own frontier-line. The first distance-slab, set up at Bridgeness, gives the length of the first section carried out as 4652 paces—about 4 English miles—a measurement which brings us westward along the Wall to Inveravon, the site of the third fort, counting from the east. The original intention seems thus to have been to divide the whole length of the Wall into nine sections of about 4 miles each, the first starting at Bridgeness, and each section terminating at every alternate fort. We have seen from the inscriptions that all three legions co-operated in building the Wall, and that two working-parties of unequal strength were drawn from each legion. “Now a moment’s reflection will suggest that, with nine separate sections to construct, and six working-parties at their disposal, the obvious plan for the officers in charge to adopt was to assign each of the first sections to a single working-party, and, when these were completed, to turn two of the working-parties on to each of the remaining three sections. In this way no working-party would be left unemployed, and the whole Wall would be finished in the most expeditious manner possible. . . . When all was over, there would be a single stone of remembrance erected at each end of each of the first six sections, while at each end of the others there would be two. The presence of a double set of duplicates—with the names of two different legions—at the end of the

stretch of $3666\frac{1}{2}$ paces between Millochan and Castle Hill, thus finds a perfectly natural explanation " (Sir George Macdonald in vol. xi. of the *Journal of Roman Studies*).

But several other questions naturally arise. First, why was one of the two working-parties from each legion stronger than the other? Sir George Macdonald answers this by pointing to the fact that the first three sections—Bridgeness to Inveravon, Inveravon to Falkirk, and Falkirk to Seabeg—were each considerably longer than the second three—Seabeg to Westerwood, Westerwood to Bar Hill, and Bar Hill to Kirkintilloch—and to equalize the work it would appear necessary to vary the strength of the parties.

Again, why are such short lengths as 3000, 3304, and $3666\frac{1}{2}$ paces found east of Castle Hill, when the average distance between the alternate forts was about 4300 paces (4 miles)? And why was there a short odd length left over to be carried out in six sections averaging only 3700 feet?

Evidently it had been found necessary to depart from the original division into nine sections terminating at alternate forts. Sir George Macdonald explains this in two ways. First, because the tremendous labour involved in hewing out the ditch in the neighbourhood of Croy Hill would put a heavy handicap on the working-parties employed, and the length of their sections would therefore

have to be shortened. Secondly, the building of the Wall with turves would take much longer than the mere heaping up of earth and clay—the method employed at the eastern end. These causes would have combined to bring about a shortening of sections Nos. 5, 6, 7, 8, and 9, so that they would no longer terminate at the forts. And thus the odd length left over is also accounted for. So is the fact that the distance-slabs have so frequently been found at points half a mile or more from the site of a fort.

The total number of slabs on the above understanding would have been thirty-six—one at each end of Sections 1-6, two at each end of Sections 7-9, and one at each end of the six subdivisions of the last Section, No. 10. It is a matter for wonder and congratulation that as many as fifteen of these thirty-six slabs have been saved from destruction—not counting the two with the figure-space left blank.

The tablet found at Bridgeness seems to have commemorated the inauguration of this great achievement, representing, as it does, the *Suove-aurilia*, the ceremony of purification which preceded any important campaign; and the one found at or near Old Kilpatrick bears what appears to be a figure of Victory, to celebrate the triumphant completion of the work.

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The Antonine Wall can be followed very easily in sections if we make Glasgow our centre. It is difficult to get sleeping accommodation at points along the route.

First Day.

OLD KILPATRICK to NEW KILPATRICK.

Bus from Glasgow to Old Kilpatrick, passing through Bearsden and Duntocher, 40 minutes. Walk from OLD KILPATRICK along the line of the Wall by DUNTOCHER and CASTLE HILL to Bearsden for NEW KILPATRICK, about 6 miles. Bus from Bearsden to Glasgow, 25 minutes.

Second Day.

NEW KILPATRICK to CADDER.

Bus from Glasgow to Bearsden, 25 minutes. Walk by NEW KILPATRICK and BALMUILDY to CADDER, about $5\frac{1}{2}$ miles. Bus from Cadder to Glasgow, 25 minutes.

Third Day.

CADDER to CROY HILL.

Bus from Glasgow past CADDER to KIRKINTILLOCH, 40 minutes. Walk by AUCHENDAVY, BAR HILL, and CROY HILL to Dullatur, about 6 miles. Train from Dullatur to Glasgow, 30 minutes.

Fourth Day.

CROY HILL to CASTLECARY.

Train from Glasgow to Dullatur, 30 minutes.
Walk by WESTERWOOD to CASTLECARY,
about 3 miles. Train from Castlecary to Glasgow,
30 minutes.

Fifth Day.

CASTLECARY to FALKIRK.

Train to Castlecary. Walk by SEABEGS to
ROUGH CASTLE and FALKIRK, about 6 miles.
Train from Falkirk (High) to Glasgow, 30 minutes.

Sixth Day.

Train to Falkirk (High), 30 minutes. Walk by
MUMRILLS, INVERAVON, and KINNEIL to
BRIDGENESS, about 9 miles. Train from Bo'ness
to Glasgow, about $1\frac{1}{2}$ hours.

On the fourth day, since the walk is very short,
time could be given to a closer examination of Croy
Hill, which is very little west of Dullatur Station.

The walk on the sixth day would come to over
10 miles if we include the distance from Bridgeness
to Bo'ness Station.

CHAPTER V

THE ANTONINE WALL : OLD KILPATRICK TO KIRKINTILLOCH

WE begin our journey along the Wall at a point where the Kilpatrick Hills approach very near to the Clyde, and where the river has already attained a width of more than a quarter of a mile. A narrow strip of arable land lies between the hills and the river, and here is the site of our first fort, OLD KILPATRICK, a little to the west of the village of that name. There is a tradition that St. Patrick was born here, and that it was up the Clyde that the Irish raiders sailed who carried him off as a boy of sixteen to Ireland. But tradition also says that his father was a Roman magistrate, and such would hardly be found on the banks of the Clyde at the close of the fourth century.

The site of the fort lies south of the road, about a furlong beyond the church, and its north-eastern rampart ran parallel to the road. Its exact position was only determined in December 1913 by Sir George Macdonald. Before then it was thought to have been on Chapel Hill, the green mound

opposite Gavinburn School. The Forth and Clyde Canal now interposes between the fort and the river. When it was being dug in 1790 the workmen came across the baths of the fort, near the houses known as Ferrydyke. This is just where we should have expected to find them, in an annexe down by the river.

Excavations carried out in 1923-24 by Mr. S. N. Miller showed that the Wall had not ended at the fort, but had been continued right down to the river bank, enclosing an extensive landing-place or quay. It was also found that the fort had been completed as a self-contained structure before the Wall was built, unlike the usual practice along the Wall. To trace the plan was not easy, because the remains lay very near the surface and had been much disturbed by agricultural operations. Of the inner buildings, the Principia was found to have had the usual five rooms at the back, and the usual strong-room under the floor of the *sacellum*. In it were found a denarius of Vespasian and one of Faustina Senior. To the north of the Principia lay a granary of the usual kind, and between it and the public road were traces of a building which may have been the commandant's house. Wooden barrack-blocks had lain to the south. Six of these were explored, and were found to have been wholly reconstructed, the earlier system being represented by sleepers, and the later by post-holes. This

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suggests that in the fort of Ardoch also the sleeper system may have been the earlier. (See Chapter IX.)

Results as a whole fully confirmed the now generally-accepted view, that the Wall, during its forty years as a Roman frontier, had twice to be temporarily abandoned. The fort was found to have been designed for a cohort of one thousand men with a contingent of cavalry. The pottery and the evidence of rebuilding pointed to its having been one of Agricola's sites.

Standing on the slope where the Romans built their fort, we look westwards towards Dumbarton, "the fort of the Britons," where the "Gibraltar of the Clyde," a double-peaked basaltic rock, rises nearly 300 feet above the river. From its summit, Dumbarton Castle and the different fortresses that preceded it have looked across the water from time immemorial: certainly for fifteen hundred years.

Below us stretches the canal which is to be our companion for the greater part of our journey across the isthmus. Here it is only separated from the Clyde by a very narrow tree-fringed strip of land, along which runs the railway to Dumbarton. Across the river the wooded southern bank shows mistily this winter's morning. Many vessels, large and small, are in sight.

If we climb the Kilpatrick braes, at the foot of

which the village stands, a very few minutes' walk will bring us to a height from which there is a fine view, even as far as to Tinto, in Lanarkshire.

From the northern angle of the fort of Old Kilpatrick the Wall has been traced by trenching to the farmhouse of Mount Pleasant, where a subsidence in the wall of an outbuilding gave the clue to the presence of the Ditch, but nothing is to be seen on the surface until after the Sandyford Burn is crossed. Then on the hillside the hollow is discernible. After that its course for more than a mile is very straight, north of and roughly parallel to the so-called "Roman road" to Duntocher. It occupies a deep little ravine to the north of the road and then curves round rapidly towards the south, being lost under the houses and gardens of the village. It crossed the Duntocher Burn at the point where the so-called "Roman Bridge" is thrown from rock to rock, but at quite a different angle. There is a stone tablet here, with a Latin inscription, recording that the bridge was originally built by Lollius Urbicus in the reign of Antoninus Pius (!), and that it was repaired by Lord Blantyre in 1772. No doubt the second half is true. From the bridge the Ditch can be seen climbing the slope of the Golden Hill which rises immediately to the south of the stream, and becoming more clearly marked as it reaches the top.

The remains of our second fort, DUNTOCHER,

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are on this hill, and its outlines, oblong in plan, can still be distinguished. The Rampart and Ditch formed its defence on the north-east. The Military Way would seem to have kept to the south, on an easier gradient, and to have sent off a branch to the south-west gate, instead of forming the *via principalis* of the fort. The area of the fort was about 3 acres according to Roy. As usual, it is in a fine situation, commanding a beautiful view in every direction.

No systematic excavation has ever been carried out here, but the baths were discovered by accident by a man engaged in digging a trench in 1775. The hypocaustal chamber into which he broke seems to have been in a very perfect condition, with pillars of tiles and surrounded by a wall of stone. A crudely-sculptured figure of a woman, nearly 2 feet high, was found in the bath, and was conveyed with tiles and other relics to Glasgow University. She is now the only object that survives to bear witness to the discovery. She evidently served as a support for the inflow pipe, for the large shell she holds in front of her is pierced with a hole about 2 inches in diameter.

These baths lay about 100 yards to the north-west of the fort, near the foot of the Golden Hill, and not far from the church. A quern was dug up when the foundations of the church were being excavated, indicating that the annexe of the fort in which the

baths lay extended farther in this direction. The plan of the baths in Gough's edition of Camden's *Britannia* shows three apartments and two apses.

Three years later (1778) several beautiful fragments of second-century Samian ware were found on the site, and a portion of a mortarium with the potter's mark BRVSC.

The line of the Ditch can be followed with ease from Duntocher for 3 miles, nearly as far as to Bearsden, first taking a south-easterly course down the slope of the hill and crossing the road running south, and then bearing eastwards alongside the road to the farmhouse of Cleddans and to Cleddans Burn. This name, Cleddans or Cleedins, occurs at two other points along the Wall, and has been interpreted by Dr. W. J. Watson as meaning either "the place of the ditch" or "the place of the rampart," from the Gaelic *cladhan*.

Beyond the Cleddans Burn the course is still clear, and still easterly, straight over Hutcheson Hill and down into the Peel Glen, on the far side of which rises the green and picturesque CASTLE HILL, the site of our third fort. Beautiful beech trees encircle the summit, and the view spread out before us as we stand beneath them is magnificent. Eastwards we look, over the chimneys of Castle Hill Farm, over Thorn Farm, and the clustered houses of Bearsden, along the line of the Wall to Crow Hill, and beyond to Bar Hill, 13

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miles away, the highest point on the Wall. Westwards we see the white gleam of the Clyde. Northwards our horizon is bounded by the Kilpatrick, Campsie, and Kilsyth Hills. The country is green and undulating, pleasantly varied by clumps and lines of trees. North-west and close at hand are the pits and furnaces of Garscadden Ironworks, the inevitable blot on land that is rich in coal.

According to Roy, the size of the fort was a little under an acre and a half. There are on the surface evident traces both of the defences and of inner buildings. The base of a column, carved with a chevron ornament in bold relief, was found in 1847 in the field that slopes down to Peel Glen. It may have belonged to the colonnade of the Principia. The only other objects from Castle Hill are the above-mentioned distance-slabs or legionary tablets, set up by soldiers of the legions to commemorate the completion of certain lengths of the Wall, and an altar dedicated by a prefect of the Fourth Cohort of Gauls to the Campestres and to Britannia. Two, if not three, of the distance-slabs that have been recovered came from Castle Hill. The altar gives the clue to the name of the auxiliary troops who garrisoned the fort at one period.

From Castle Hill the Ditch zigzags to the south-east, making for Bearsden. It descends the eastern slope of Castle Hill in an easterly direction for about 3 furlongs, traversing the golf-course, and then

making a turn towards the south before rising to the ridge on which stands Thorn Farm. In the belt of trees close to the farm it is extremely well marked. It continues its zigzag between east and south-east till it is lost in the rapidly-growing village of Bearsden, which, only a short bus-ride from Glasgow, serves now as a residential district for many who have business in the city. "Thorn Road" brings us into "Roman Road," where we are actually on the Military Way. A large house on the left is built on the very Wall itself.

Here stood our fourth fort, known as NEW KILPATRICK, placed thus by the Romans to guard the ravine down which now run the high road and railway to Milngavie (pronounced Millguy), following the course of the Manse Burn as it goes to join the Allander Water. This was evidently a large fort, though even in Roy's day it was difficult to trace its outlines. His map gives it an area of more than $3\frac{1}{2}$ acres. The south-west corner was the last to be obliterated, but every vestige is now swept away. Sir George Macdonald writes :

"The fort, it is to be feared, must be regarded as lost to archæology. It did not succumb without a struggle to protest against its burial. In one case what was evidently the stone foundation of the southern rampart caused great trouble to those who were laying out the garden ; it cost much labour to uproot it. In another the corner of a house in

process of erection subsided so seriously that it had to be taken down and rebuilt with the aid of a steel girder. It turned out that the foundation had been laid, not upon the solid ground, but upon a soft mass of black material which yielded to the superincumbent weight. Doubtless this was a rubbish-pit of the type with which Bar Hill and Newstead have made us familiar " (*The Roman Wall in Scotland*, p. 163).

Fragments of Samian ware have been turned up, but, considering its size and the way it has been trenched, it is very remarkable how little of interest the site has yielded. The Military Way appears to have passed through the midst of it from west to east, and coincides with the public road we are treading as we approach Hillfoot. Until recent years Rampart, Ditch, and Outer Mound were all clearly discernible on Ferguston Muir, high up on the ridge which rises east of the Manse Burn; but houses are now built all along the top of the ridge, and this part of the Wall is inaccessible except by passing through the gardens of these houses. It can be seen, however, as we look back from New Kilpatrick Cemetery, a little farther on. Two fine stretches of the stone foundation of the Rampart have been left uncovered in the cemetery. One of these, running nearly due north, is on a very steep slope, and it is interesting to note that it has been stepped. It also includes a good example

of the culverts that were laid across at intervals. The Wall must then have taken a right-angled turn, for the other section runs nearly due east, pointing towards Crow Hill, over the wooded top of which we shall have to pass. This second piece is almost level, and is some 36 yards in length. It terminates at the enclosing fence, beyond which is the Hillfoot golf-course, and the cemetery-keeper pointed out to me the mound of one of the greens as marking the line of the Wall. A groundsman was at work on this green, wielding a long flexible bamboo with great dexterity. As I drew near, he answered my unspoken questioning: "The wurrums hae been busy a' nicht." He was smoothing down the worm-casts on grass that otherwise rivalled a billiard-table. He showed me the best place to get out into the road near where the line of the Ditch crosses it, crying, "Guid luck to ye!" as I went on my way towards Crow Hill. This hill is sometimes called "The Temple." From its beech-crowned summit there is a beautiful view northwards over the Allander Water as it flows through flat green meadows, and up the Blane Valley which separates the Kilpatrick Hills from the Campsie Fells, forming the weak spot in the chain against which the Romans guarded by building the forts of New Kilpatrick and Balmuirdy. We can trace the Allander up to Milngavie, lying in a haze of blue smoke. Westwards we can see Castle Hill

with its tree-girt top, peering over Ferguston Muir. Eastward, the Allander curves round to join the Kelvin, and in between are fields of strawberry plants, gooseberry-bushes, and raspberry-canes around the foot of Crow Hill. Southward is again the Kelvin, with the farmhouse of East Millochan surrounded by flooded fields. This is the find-spot of one—if not two—of the legionary distance-slabs.

The Wall-line descends the slope of Crow Hill along the line of field boundaries, and after crossing the road not far north of Summerston Station, bends southward to the ford of the Kelvin, which was protected by the fort at Balmuildy. It is at this ford that the Wall-line crosses the boundary between Dumbartonshire and Stirlingshire. On the right of the road a group of coal-mines and brick-works strikes a discordant note in the midst of what is otherwise a pleasant peaceful country.

At BALMUILDY, called locally Bemulie, we have the site of the fifth fort, less than 4 miles from the centre of Glasgow. Excavations carried out for the Glasgow Archæological Society by Mr. S. N. Miller between August 1912 and August 1914 proved that the farmhouse of Easter Balmuildy stands in what was the annexe of the fort, and that the fort itself lay in the meadow, between the garden and the road running southwards from Summerston. The south-west corner of the fort is cut off by the modern road. Before the excavations the tenant

had found it impossible to plough up this field because of the stone foundations which lay everywhere so near the surface.

The Antonine Wall, having crossed the Kelvin from north to south, turns eastward and runs parallel to the river for a few hundred yards at a distance of a hundred yards or so from its bank. Just here the fort has been placed, with the Wall forming as usual the northern defence.

Like Castlecary, it had ramparts of stone. A triple ditch surrounded it on the south and west, a double ditch on the east. The latter was, however, filled up with clay at some time, and a bath-house was built on the top, in the annexe—a larger and better-built bath-house than the one which was found squeezed into a corner of the fort proper. The other inner buildings were on the usual plan. Ranged along the *via principalis* were the Principia, granaries, and a commandant's house. North and south of these were the barrack-buildings, six in number, to accommodate a garrison of five hundred men. Other structures traced may have been the stables for the horses of a cavalry contingent.

The most important inscribed stones found were fragments of a tablet which had borne the name of Lollius Urbicus, and had recorded the erection of the north gate by the Second Legion. There was no evidence, either from pottery or coins, that this had ever been one of Agricola's sites.

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A village of some dozen cottages once stood within the fort walls.

Eastwards from Balmuildy the Ditch can be traced north of the road. The two converge, until for some distance the road is running on the berm. After a straight stretch of nearly a mile, the road turns to the right, close to where a lint-pond occupies the Ditch ; it crosses the Military Way, and then turns to the left, running along the north edge of the Wilderness Plantation. It is now once more parallel to the Ditch, though at a greater distance away. This is a beautiful piece of road, on a ridge overlooking the valley and separated only by a low bank from the plantation and its giant beech trees. When I was there, between twenty and thirty of the largest had been recently blown down in a gale, and lay with great circular plates of root-bound earth standing upright from the ground to a height of 12 or 15 feet.

At the end of the plantation the Wall leaves the road entirely, and enters the policies of Cadder House. I met a man just here who assured me that no one would make any objection if I followed it through the grounds, as the house was only occupied for a few months in the summer. He advised me which way to go to avoid the piggeries. So I soon found myself in front of the house on the slopes above the avenue.

A sculptured stone block, with an inscription

in very perfect condition, is to be seen built into the front wall of Cadder House. It was presented to the Stirlings of Cadder by Napier of Merchiston, who married a daughter of the house. It reads :

LEG
II
AVG
FEC

The letters are enclosed in a large wreath held by two naked genii, each of whom stands on the head of an eagle rising from a cornucopia.

I met the factor in the avenue, and from him I learned that in 1913 cuts had been made at a number of places to ascertain the route of the Wall, and he pointed out its approximate course, not on the highest ground, but keeping farther north than one would expect. Then he showed me the quickest way out, into a road which led past the Cadder tumulus to the church. Incidentally, it was very nearly the route taken by the Wall. The tumulus is in a very commanding situation and splendidly preserved, but—it is not Roman! Excavations under Sir George Macdonald's supervision gave no evidence of a date earlier than Norman.

Cadder is a very attractive little village, even in its winter dress. The Forth and Clyde Canal twists through it picturesquely, the high banks clothed with great beech trees on either side.

Church and manse face one another across the water, through a veil of boughs. The fort of CADDER lay in what is now part of the glebe, the field between the manse garden and the canal. Subsidences in the east and west garden-walls gave Sir George Macdonald the clue to the position of the south ditch of the fort, and thence he traced the lines of the ramparts in 1913, but the site still awaits a thorough excavation. It shows no sign on the surface of the rich possibilities it offers. Already in 1730 Horsley reports it as "much plundered by the village and levelled by the plough," and indeed barely recognizable. The workmen employed in digging the canal in 1773 found the top of an altar and two quern-stones several feet underground, and these were handed over to Glasgow University. The Military Way crossed the manse garden, and was rooted up when the garden was being made in 1852. At the same time were discovered a quantity of fragments of Samian and other Roman ware, several bones, and a number of iron nails.

Rampart and Ditch of the Wall cross the line of the canal at the sharp bend north of the manse. Here I sat, on the steep slope of the canal-bank, and ate my lunch, faced by the reflections of the beautiful bare beech-boles in the calm water. The stillness was broken only when a patient horse, plodding along the tow-path, rounded the bend,

turning an inquiring glance in my direction. He was quickly called to order by a shout behind him, as the long black nose of the barge he was drawing followed him slowly round the bend, and obediently his head swung back into an " Eyes right ! " position. Peaceful traffic this !

The motor-buses from Glasgow come within a few hundred yards of Cadder, but they never enter the village to disturb its primitive peace, for the road that leads to it is a blind alley, ending at the church, and the buses rush on to KIRKINTILLOCH, the site of our seventh fort. The line of the Ditch is clearly visible most of the way there, through the farm-lands, first on the left side of the road and then, after we have crossed the canal, on the right, until it is cut away by the sand-pits. Here Sir George Macdonald noted a clear section of it, the darker filling of the Ditch showing against the lighter colour of the sand.

We have now approached much nearer to the Campsie Fells, and they form a beautiful series of hills, seen across two miles of the green Kelvin Valley. They end in a remarkable detached peak, known as Dumbuck. I asked a man in Kirkintilloch if he could tell me what it was, expecting to be given its name, and he answered, apparently in all good faith, " Yon's a mine." I suppose I looked puzzled, for he added reassuringly, " Ay, it's a binn." I had already been taken in once in Stirling-

shire by an interesting-looking hill which turned out to be an unusually high "shale-binn," but this time I *knew* I was looking at the end of the Campsie Fells.

At the entrance to Kirkintilloch, on the right, there is an elevated mound surrounded by a deep ditch. It is known as the Peel, and is now included within the area of a public park. Eighteenth-century writers took this to be the site of the Roman fort, but it is now recognized that the Peel is not Roman, and that search for our site must be made elsewhere along the ridge. A hoard of silver coins, ranging from Vespasian to Faustina Junior, was found between 300 and 400 yards east of the Peel in 1893 in a sand-pit, together with an iron spear-head and a large nail; and a large amphora was dug up some years earlier in Cowgate Street in the town. These finds point to the presence of a fort in the vicinity.

CHAPTER VI

THE ANTONINE WALL: KIRKINTILLOCH TO CASTLECARY

THE line of the Ditch on the east of Kirkintilloch is not very easy to trace, but the Rampart is known to have passed through the steading of the farm of Cleddans, for part of the stone foundation was uncovered there in 1909. And less than half a mile farther on the hollow of the Ditch can be seen running just in front of the farmhouse of Whitehill. It appears again in the fields north of the Kirkintilloch-to-Kilsyth road, on its way to the eighth fort, AUCHENDAVY, and is traceable chiefly by the dips in the hedgerows.

The Rampart formed as usual the northern defence of Auchendavy, and the high-road, passing through the midst of it from west to east, is perhaps on the line of the Military Way. The mounds and trenches are still very visible. On the north of the main road is the farmhouse of Auchendavy, and on the south are the farm buildings, all enclosed within the area of the fort, which covered over $2\frac{1}{2}$ acres. A subsidence in the east wall of an out-

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building is due to its having been built over one of the south ditches of the fort.

This site has yielded a remarkable number of relics. The workmen engaged in digging the Forth and Clyde Canal came across a rubbish-pit to the south of the site—probably in one of the annexes—in 1771. It contained four Roman altars and part of a fifth, a mutilated stone bust, and two huge iron mallets. The altars are in the Hunterian Museum, Glasgow. Three of the four had been broken in halves. All were erected by the same man, M. Cocceius Firmus, a centurion of the Second Legion Augusta, who dedicated them to a very varied assortment of gods and goddesses. One of the inscriptions begins :

GENIO TERRÆ BRITANNICÆ

(" To the Spirit that watches over the land of Britain.")

The mallets are now lost. They appear to have been extraordinarily heavy, weighing $50\frac{1}{2}$ and 37 pounds respectively, and it is said that from the heavier at least 5 or 6 pounds had been broken off. Yet earlier records of finds from Auchendavy tell us of a gold *solidus* of Trajan and other coins, of altars and other stones built into houses, of pottery, and of a find of upwards of fifty ballista bullets.

Eastwards of this site the Ditch can be traced through the fields north of the road for at least half a mile. At Shirva, a little farther on, there

was evidently a Roman cemetery, for three inscribed tombstones were found there in 1728, and also two large sculptured slabs representing the sepulchral banquet. They are recorded as having been found in a "tumulus" in the Ditch, close by the Wall.

The Ditch becomes plain on the right of the road, where it crosses the Shirva Burn, but does not show again conspicuously until just after we have crossed the road running north and south at the village of Twechar.

The walk along the Wall from Twechar over Bar Hill and Croy Hill, and then by Westerwood to Castlecary, *includes some of the most beautiful and interesting parts of the great barrier.* The view is here little marred by the presence of industrial or mining operations, and the Wall traverses much ground that has never been under cultivation. In winter the tawny blanket of bracken with which the hills are covered, the quiet green of the sheep-cropped grass, the deep blue-green of Scotch firs, and the purplish tint of the masses of leafless trees, make a delightful scheme of colour, seen against the blue-grey mistiness of the Campsie Fells and the Kilsyth Hills on the northern side of the valley.

BAR HILL, our ninth fort, lies as nearly as possible midway between the two ends of the Wall, and just here is the highest ground along the line of the isthmus, 495 feet above sea-level. It is only about half a mile from the village of Twechar to the site of

the fort, first along the road past Bar Hill Farm, and then across a field. Excavations were carried out here in 1902 by Sir George Macdonald and Mr. Alexander Park, at the expense of the owner, Mr. Whitelaw of Gartshore, and no site along the Wall has yielded richer results. The fort was found to lie entirely to the south of the Wall, with the Military Way running in between, instead of having its northern boundary formed by the Wall as usual. This was explained by the fact that it proved to be one of Agricola's sites, reoccupied later by Lollius Urbicus.

Agricola's fort was traceable only by the lines of its filled-up ditches. It had an internal area of scarcely half an acre, and had but one gate, defended by an ingenious arrangement of ditches. The small amount of débris in the ditches showed that it had been occupied for only a very short time.

The Antonine fort was fully six times as large as its predecessor, covering just over 3 acres. Its rampart was constructed on exactly the same plan as the Wall. It had four gates, and on north, east, and west these had been flanked by wooden towers raised on the top of the rampart. Each pair of towers appeared to have been connected by a wooden gangway, passing over the top of the gate, and supported by stout posts of oak. On the south there were evidences that stone guard-chambers had defended the gate, for this was clearly con-

sidered the most vulnerable side. The double ditch surrounding the fort was cut deepest on the south, and the entrance through it was covered by a *titulus*.

The interior buildings included the usual *Principia*, with a *sacellum* or shrine. In its courtyard, on the east side, was the well, which was found to have been choked effectually by a mass of material, including twenty-one freestone columns or portions of columns from the colonnade of the courtyard, bases, and capitals from the same, a large inscribed altar, and many building-stones. This well was 43 feet deep and 4 feet in diameter.

Only one granary was discovered, and that was peculiar in having a stone partition up the middle, and not the usual buttresses. There were also workshops, baths heated by hypocausts, and barracks for the soldiers. These last were of wood, and traceable only by rows of post-holes containing wooden stumps, some of which bore marks of fire.

A great many small objects were found in the well and in rubbish-pits. These included wooden articles, of which the most remarkable was a fine wheel, similar to those found later at Newstead; also ornamental leather shoes (some of which had obviously belonged to women and children), pottery of various kinds, window-glass, red roofing-tiles, querns, troughs, and mortars. Tools were commoner than weapons amongst the finds.

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The site of the fort has been planted thickly with young fir trees since it was excavated, but the stone foundation of the surrounding rampart can still be traced, with its rounded corners; and the well stands amid the trees on the very summit of the hill, the ground sloping away from it steeply in every direction. For the sake of safety, it has been surrounded by a circular wall and coping, 6 or 7 feet high, with an arched entrance, all built of Roman stones. Since it was emptied, the water in it has risen to a level of $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet from the surface, and remains so constantly. The history of its discovery provides a good example of the ups and downs, the joys and sorrows, of an excavator's experience. On the very first day of the excavations the well was found, less than 1 foot below the surface. It had been betrayed by the peculiar greenness of the grass in spring and early summer. The lining was of dressed stones, resting at the bottom on five well-squared oaken beams, in the form of a pentagon. But before the bottom was reached much labour was necessary. Out of this small hole, 4 feet across, quantities of building-stones had to be lifted, and it was not till a depth of 12 feet had been cleared that the first interesting find was made—the capital of a column. After that, the finds were rich, but the difficulties and danger increased.

~ The water began to be very troublesome, and

overhead machinery had to be provided for raising heavy stones, and for lowering and raising the man who had to attach the ropes at the bottom. It could not have been very pleasant to stand at a depth of 40 feet or so, with scarcely room to turn, and to look up at the tiny circle of sky, 4 feet across, and at the bulging walls of "superb" Roman workmanship, many centuries old, rising close round. It was quite a feat to empty this well. Little did the garrison think when they flung columns, altars, and articles of every kind into the opening that the time would come when each object would be brought again to the surface with the greatest pains, examined with eager interest, and even the very mud sifted with meticulous care!

Amongst the siftings were ten counterfeit denarii, made of such thin tin that they could be bent with the fingers. No one could ever have been deceived by them. Sir George Macdonald took them to be, not forgeries, but shams for devotional purposes. It was thought to be lucky to throw coins down a well as votive offerings, . . . and the gods were so much more easily taken in than suspicious fellow-men!

Remains of the baths and of the sanitary system inside the north rampart are still visible, including a long covered drain.

Two cohorts are known to have been stationed at this fort—the First Cohort of *Bætasii* and the

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First Cohort of Hamii. The former are named on an altar found in the well, the latter on one ploughed up near the fort in 1895. The Hamii were Syrian bowmen, and it may be that they reinforced the Bætasii in time of special pressure. They served at one time at Carvoran (Magnæ) on Hadrian's Wall. The tombstone of a prefect of this cohort was seen and copied at Kilsyth by German scholars who visited Scotland in search of inscriptions in the early seventeenth century. It must have come from the cemetery attached to the Bar Hill fort, and have been carried to Kilsyth. It has long since been lost.

The ground begins to be very rocky just beyond Bar Hill, and in some parts the legionaries have had to hew the Ditch 9 feet deep into the solid rock. Yet it pursues its course unswervingly. Just below the treeless rocky Castle Hill which rises north-east of Bar Hill there is an interruption in the Ditch for a space of 10 or 12 feet which has never been accounted for. There is a much longer break farther on, on Croy Hill, and it can only be supposed that in these two cases even the Roman legions were daunted by the extraordinary hardness of the basalt. Nowadays no attempt would be made to remove it without explosives.

From the summit of Castle Hill, the whole valley from Forth to Clyde can be followed by the eye on a very clear day. The Wall bends northwards to

include Castle Hill, which it would not have been safe to leave in the hands of the enemy. The slopes of the hill are too steep for a good foothold, so the Military Way keeps well to the south on more level ground.

On the eastern slope of Castle Hill as we descend there is a fine piece of the stone foundation of the Wall left uncovered, where a section of the Wall has been made. It looked as if it had been recently cleared.

Following the ridge eastwards, we can trace for miles the shining line of the Forth and Clyde Canal far below, and on either side of it scattered farm-houses, with whitewashed walls and grey roofs, each surrounded by its little group of miniature haystacks. The line of the deep-cut Ditch, running up the west side of Croy Hill, can be clearly seen, though it is nearly a mile away. As we come into line with a gamekeeper's cottage, both Rampart and Ditch are in splendid condition. Then we have to follow the farm-road, tracing the Ditch at intervals, on one side or the other.

So we come down to the road from Kilsyth to Croy, on the west side of which there is the embankment of a disused mineral railway, which must not be mistaken for part of the works.

At no part of the line is the Wall more impressive than on Croy Hill. The Ditch is cut a little below the summit, on the almost precipitous northern

face of the hill. Even where a natural gully seems to render it superfluous, it has been cut many feet deep into the rock, huge boulders of which are still lying in the Ditch and near it. In places it recalls the Ditch of Hadrian's Wall as seen on Limestone Bank. The Ordnance Survey records its greatest depth as nearly 15 feet, while its breadth varies from 20 to 30 feet. The situation is full of natural beauty, with a very extensive view up and down the valley and along the line of the northern hills. In summer the bracken on the slopes must be really a difficulty here, as well as on other parts of the Wall. It completely covers the ground but for a grass-grown track which follows in part the Military Way. On the western shoulder of the hill we see two of the semicircular expansions of the Rampart that may mark the site of signal-stations or sentry-boxes.

The actual remains of the tenth fort, on CROY HILL, have now been located by means of the spade. No signs were visible on the surface, but it had long been thought that a fort stood near the summit. Stones of undoubted Roman origin are built up into the walls of ruined houses hard by, and when, in 1896, the Glasgow Archæological Society explored the Wall, a small fragment of Samian, a ballista ball, and part of a quern were found on the hill. Moreover, an altar set up by a detachment of the Sixth Legion and two other sculptured stones had

been found at the foot of the precipitous ridge on the summit of which the fort was conjecturally placed. In 1920 Sir George Macdonald definitely established the fact of its existence by trenching.

On the eastern side of the hill there is the second—and much the longer—break in the continuity of the Ditch, extending for a distance of 50 feet. After that the trench again becomes very striking for at least another quarter of a mile, still hewn deeply out of the basalt. The Rampart has practically disappeared on this side. As we approach Dullatur, we come to cultivated ground, where the long lines of furrows left by the ploughshare dip down into the Ditch, and exaggerate the impression of its depth.

Immediately to the north of Dullatur railway station there are houses on the site of the Rampart. Then it passes in front of the farmhouse of Easter Dullatur, on the north of the road running east. The road, twisting north, crosses the Rampart, which soon is covered by the railway embankment. I found the road here in a terrible condition, ploughed up by the tread of many cattle into a morass of soft mud. Presently it passes under the embankment, and after that the line of the Wall is very distinct for over two miles with hardly a break. On the ascent towards the farm of Westerwood, the Ditch is again most impressive, sometimes as much as 10 feet deep, and always close on the left of the road, which had become passable on higher

ground. The farmhouse of WESTERWOOD and its outbuildings occupy the north-east corner of our next fort, which contained about $2\frac{1}{4}$ acres. Very few antiquities are known to have come from there. The only records are of stones with inscriptions, seen in the eighteenth century, but now lost. As usual, the choice of a situation is good, on ground which falls away gently on all sides except the south.

A fine piece of the Ditch east of Westerwood is particularly well seen, passing as it does through grass-land quite free from trees, with our path running along its northern edge. In front of the little house of Arniebog, near which was found part of a sculptured stone very like a distance-slab, the road bends southward and falls in with the Military Way. The Outer Mound is now scattered with tall beech trees and rises high above the Ditch, but the Wall itself is hardly traceable. The ground north of the Outer Mound slopes down steeply. Up the slope, as I passed, a ploughman was urging on his team of three horses with encouraging cries, while a flock of snowy gulls followed in the rear. Beyond the rich brown ploughed land were more trees, and then there shone two silver streaks—the canal and the little Kelvin. Farther north still, patches of winter sunshine dappled the Kilsyth Hills.

The Ditch can be traced all the way, particularly

clearly near the farm of Garnhall, till we come down towards the brick-kilns of Castlecary. Here it is partly buried under the brick-field and under the railway line. It crosses the railway about 50 feet west of the station buildings, as shown by a subsidence in the wall, and then it descends to cross the deep ravine of the Red Burn, thence making straight for the north wall of the Castlecary fort. But its course is very obscure. The ruined bridge across the burn marks the line of the old Glasgow road, which may have followed the course of the Military Way.

CASTLECARY, our twelfth fort, seems to have been one of the most important on the Wall, and its remains were still very extensive until the latter half of the eighteenth century. Then, in 1769 and 1771, the workmen employed on the Forth and Clyde Canal carried off the stones as the most accessible building material, and others later followed their example. Unlike most of the forts on the Wall, this one was surrounded by a very strong wall of stone, which stood until 1809, when it was deliberately demolished in the name of agricultural improvements. Then, in 1841, the Edinburgh and Glasgow railway trespassed on the site, entering at the west gate, and passing out at the south-eastern angle.

Excavations were carried out by the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland in 1902, and very in-

teresting facts were gathered, but the site was not exhaustively searched, and would, no doubt, repay a further investigation. The surrounding stone wall was found to have been 8 feet thick at the base, expanding at the north-east corner to 11 feet. It was therefore quite as massive as the Wall of Hadrian, and the upper part was constructed on a similar plan, with squared facing-stones and a rubble core. It continued all along the north side, but there was evidence to suggest that originally the northern defence had been the great Rampart itself, and that the stone wall represented a later stage in the history of the fort. There were other signs of reconstruction.

The usual four gates were traced, and a guard-chamber stood within each rounded corner of the ramparts. The foundations of the Principia were uncovered, and east of it a granary, 83 feet long, on the usual pattern. Still farther east was the commandant's house, and close within the east wall stood the baths, with apsed recesses.

When the railway was carried across the site, it was found necessary to remove accumulated stones, pottery, and rubbish to a depth of 12 feet, so it can be guessed how much valuable material has been lost to the archæologist. A hoard of not less than 100 bushels of black wheat was discovered in a hollow in the rock to the west of the fort. A writer of 1883 stated that in his time some of

this wheat could "still be gathered by the curious."

An annexe was found to lie outside the fort on the east, surrounded by a ditch, and probably by a turf wall. Only one rubbish-pit was cleared, and that lay behind the south wall of the Principia. There would surely be others in the annexe. Their importance has been more clearly recognized since Bar Hill was excavated, and especially since the wonderful finds at Newstead. The pottery found on the site suggests that it was originally occupied by Agricola, and a row of post-holes traced on the west of the Principia may point back to wooden buildings of his period.

A road issuing from the south gate was traced southwards by the excavators for more than half a mile, and may have led directly to Birrens and Carlisle.

As to the garrison of the fort, two inscriptions give us a clue. The first, a slab now in Glasgow, records the erection of some building by the First Cohort of Tungrians, one thousand strong, in honour of the Emperor Antoninus Pius. The second, an altar now in Edinburgh, had been set up (apparently in a shrine outside the fort) by the First Loyal Cohort of Vardulli, Roman citizens, one thousand strong, with a contingent of cavalry.

CHAPTER VII
THE ANTONINE WALL: CASTLECARY
TO BRIDGENESS

FROM Castlecary, north of the viaduct, a road runs eastward to Bonnybridge. It starts on the berm of the Wall, just where the Wall formed the northern rampart of the Castlecary fort, and then it makes a sharp turn to the right, round the north-east angle of the fort, before proceeding east again, almost on the Military Way. The fort is now under grass, and nothing is to be seen on the surface except a few irregular mounds. A group of trees marks the approximate position of the granary that was uncovered. The railway embankment occupies a large slice of the area of the fort. As we continue our way eastward, the Ditch can be clearly seen running along through the pastures north of the road. Beyond, still farther north, is the Forth and Clyde Canal. Road, Ditch, and canal gradually converge, until finally the canal occupies the Ditch. When I followed this part of the Wall, it was the day of the famous Glasgow gale, and the wind was blowing at about 100 miles an hour, whipping the water of the canal into great

waves, so that its surface where it touched the bank appeared jagged like the teeth of a saw. It was a picturesque scene. The canal lies well up on the side of the hill, and below it were grass fields scattered with trees, sloping down to the bottom of the valley, on the far side of which rose the long line of the Kilsyth Hills. Steam-barges on the canal added splashes of gay colour. Here was a black-and-white barge, touched up with royal blue, and her crew of four sported "oilies" of varying shades, canary-yellow, yellow-ochre, burnt sienna, and black. The wind was behind me and literally swept me along. When the line of the Ditch leaves the canal, it appears on the south side of the road, climbing towards Seabegs Wood, where Rampart, Ditch, and Outer Mound are all very impressive. The "wood" consists now of only small trees thinly scattered over the steep slopes that rise above the road, and there is nothing to prevent the best-preserved parts of the barrier from being properly seen. Dr. Irvine, in about 1680, observed "a great Fort at the east end of Seabegwood," but no vestiges of such a fort can now be traced, and there appears to be no record of antiquities found in the near neighbourhood. It would be strange if there were no fort between Castlecary and Rough Castle, for the distance is nearly twice as long as the average distance between each pair of forts. The Ditch passes to the north of the farmhouse of

Seabegs, crosses a branch road, and soon becomes difficult to trace because of the buildings that have sprung up to the south of Bonnybridge. Farther on, the line is cut by the Caledonian Railway, and the shape of the Ditch can be seen conspicuously on the skyline. After that it passes the foot of Elf Hill, a conspicuous mound above a reservoir, and so reaches the road near the entrance of Bonnyside House. In the Bonnyside grounds, Rampart, Ditch, and Outer Mound can all be traced to perfection. Just south of the house there is a semi-circular expansion, the best example to be seen along the line, and farther on in the grounds there is another. A section was made through this part of the Rampart, but in the course of years the sides have become much washed down, and the stone foundation is no longer visible. The fortifications continue to be in splendid condition, though somewhat hidden beneath bracken and undergrowth, all the way to the Rowantree Burn, on the far side of which, high up on the top of the steep bracken-covered bank, can be seen the walls of the fort of ROUGH CASTLE, the fourteenth along our line. The heavy rain was now, hardly falling, but being driven almost horizontally by the tempestuous wind, and the burn was for the time a raging torrent, so I postponed my exploration of the fort, and fought my way back to the high road, where a car was waiting for me.

The next day, in better weather, I was taken over the fort by a local antiquary, who visits the site very frequently and has made himself thoroughly familiar with every feature. He is "mine-manager" to a brickworks in the neighbourhood (I did not know before that "mine" could refer to a fireclay pit), and he has been specially interested to note that, in firing their bricks, the Romans had to contend with the very same difficulties that present themselves to the modern brickmaker. Some of the Roman bricks lying about on the site were, he pointed out, not baked "through," and were therefore black in the middle. A film had formed over the clay outside before the heat had reached the centre, exactly as sometimes happens to-day. His expert eye could also detect that the Romans had used straw mixed with their clay.

The best side from which to approach the fort is the west. The Military Way can be traced before we leave the grounds of Bonnyside House, dividing into two branches. One follows along the high bank of a little tributary of the Rowantree Burn, crosses the burn on low ground, climbs up the steep bank on which the fort stands, and enters it by the west gate, cutting across the ditches which surround it. Thence it goes straight across the fort and across the annexe which adjoins it on the east. The other branch keeps along by the southern boundary of the Bonnyside grounds, and probably

crossed the Rowantree Burn by a bridge where the banks are much steeper ; then it follows along outside the southern rampart of the fort, past the south gate, and all round the rampart of the annexe to its east gate. The stone paving can be seen here and there.

Climbing up the steep bank to enter the fort by the west gate, we find the defensive ditches near the top are still very conspicuous, and indeed the whole of the fortifications are wonderfully preserved. The Antonine Wall forms as usual the north rampart of both fort and annexe. On the other three sides there are double ditches, but with complications which seem to indicate changes made at different periods in the history of the fort.

The whole site was excavated in 1903 by the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland. We can still trace the outline of the headquarters building which was then discovered, and of a buttressed granary, built on sleeper walls in the usual way. Another building, with a stone-lined pit which resembled the one at Lyne, may have been the commandant's house. A smaller pit, found beneath the floor of the *sacellum*, must represent the familiar strong-room of the second century. A very important discovery was made in a hole which may have been the well of the fort. Fragments of an inscribed tablet were found, commemorating the erection of the " Principia " by the Sixth Cohort of the Nervii,

thus giving us the name of the auxiliaries who manned the fort in its latest period. More than this. The use of the words "PRINCIPIA FECIT" is interesting, because such tablets are known to have been commonly placed on the headquarters buildings of forts of this type.

On the stones of the paved road within the south gate we can still see marks which are thought to be grooves worn by Roman chariot-wheels. The bath-house for the troops lay in the annexe, and amongst the ruins were found hypocaust pillars of brick and stone. The only stone pillar remaining on the surface was removed by my companion to his own house for greater safety, and is there now. These baths, like the other buildings and the ramparts and ditches, bore unmistakable signs of changes in construction, indicating several successive occupations of the fort.

One of the best examples of the kerb-stones of the Wall-foundation is to be seen in that stretch of Wall which forms the northern rampart of the Rough Castle fort, near its north-western angle.

But the feature of this fort which I was most anxious to see was the group of *lilia* or defensive pits lying outside the ramparts on the north side. Nothing like these has been found elsewhere, but Cæsar describes how such pits were used in the siege of Alesia as a snare for the relieving force. They were placed close together in overlapping

rows, on the principle of the *quincunx* (that is to say, arranged like the "five" in a pack of cards). Sharpened stakes were planted in them, and then the whole ground was strewn with twigs and brushwood so as to conceal them completely. Cæsar's soldiers, with grim humour, called them "lilies," the stake presumably standing for the stamen. The pits at Rough Castle are clearly of very early date, for five rows of them were found buried beneath the upcast of the Ditch of the Antonine Wall. They all lie north of the Wall. When excavated they were found to be not more than 2½ feet deep, but no doubt they were deeper when first made. Their length is about 7 feet, and their width 3 feet at the top, but the sides slope rapidly towards the bottom. There were ten rows, and perhaps twenty in a row. The character of the soil covering them pointed to their having been first filled up with débris from the abandoned Agricolaan fort, and then, after a period during which grass had time to grow over the surface, being covered to a greater depth by the upcast from the Ditch of the Wall, thus to remain hidden for seventeen and a half centuries. We found them full of water, with rushes growing in them, and apparently more filled up with soil than when they were first excavated twenty-five years before. But their general shape and relative position could be clearly recognized.

The smother of bracken which covers the whole

of the site makes it impossible to examine it properly either in summer or autumn, but in winter or early spring all the outlines are very clear. It would seem almost worth while to burn the bracken off, and to beat down the young shoots as they appeared in the spring, for grass and heather would soon form a fresh clothing, without concealing the forms.

Wall and Ditch continue to be very visible eastwards of the Rough Castle fort, all through the Tentfield Plantation, the Ditch being, often 8 to 10 feet deep. A sharp bend is made towards the south-east, shortly before crossing a stream. Two examples of the "semicircular" expansions attached to the south face of the Wall occur in the plantation. The first of these, called by Roy "Gilmor Seat," after the rising ground near it, is about 100 yards east of the point where the mineral railway crosses the Wall. The second is about five minutes' walk farther on. After Wall and Ditch have turned eastward again, a public road runs alongside of them on the south.

A house on the left of this road, called Tayavalla, is actually built on the Wall. The road crosses to the north of the fortifications, and then a house on the right, known as Watling Lodge, stands right on the line. It marks the spot where the road northwards to Camelon cut the Wall, and where the Romans had a small fort to guard the opening. The garden of Watling Lodge now occupies the site

of this guard-house, and the house itself is built on a mound on the north side of the Ditch, which used to be known as Maiden Castle.

The Ditch is traceable nearly to Falkirk through the grounds of Glenfuir House and Bantaskine. The remains of the fifteenth fort, which stood at or near FALKIRK, are most probably buried beneath the streets of the town. Its exact position and size cannot therefore be determined, but many fragments of Samian ware and other small objects have been dug up in gardens on the south side of the town.

Beyond Falkirk the Ditch reappears prominently in the beautiful grounds of Callendar House, and there it may be followed almost continuously, parallel to the road, for the greater part of a mile.

At the entrance to the village of Laurieston, a short distance beyond Callendar Park, the main road forks, and the northern branch is known as Graham's Dyke Street. There is little doubt that it represents the line of the barrier. Half a mile farther on, we come to the site of the sixteenth fort, MUMRILLS, which stood on the high ground which overlooks the Westquarter Burn. Just here a short road runs southwards, connecting the northern and southern branches of the main road, and the remains of the fort occupy the ground on the east of this short road. The farmhouse of Mumrills lies to the north of fort and Wall.

The exact situation of the fort and its relation to the Wall were ascertained by Sir George Macdonald in 1912, also the fact that its ramparts were, not of turf, but of earth and clay, like this part of the Wall. The Wall makes a very unexpected swoop southwards in order to fall into line with the north wall of the fort, returning almost immediately to its original line, as if the fort had been a fixture with which it had to conform.

Mr. A. O. Curle, acting for the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, began to excavate the site in the winter of 1923-24, and has continued yearly. The winter is the most available time, owing to the great agricultural value of the land, which, however, does not prevent it from being in danger of inclusion in a building scheme. The western gateway and triple ditches of the Antonine fort have been located, as well as other ditches evidently belonging to a different system of fortifications, which points to an Agricolan occupation. The pottery found, though mostly Antonine, included some earlier fragments. The Principia has been completely uncovered. It was found to have measured originally 100 feet by 120 feet—larger than any yet known on the Scottish Wall, and one of the largest in Britain. It had been twice reconstructed, and each time was reduced in size. Two granaries had stood alongside of it, and the east one, whose walls were partially preserved, showed excellent

workmanship. Roofing-tiles on this site were conspicuous by their absence. Numerous fragments of burnt clay with impressions of wattle hinted at the destruction by fire of the wattle-and-daub huts which housed perhaps its earliest garrison.

The fort is the largest along the Wall, occupying $4\frac{3}{4}$ acres. There is reason to believe that a cavalry regiment was stationed here, for an altar was found a mile to the south dedicated to Hercules Magusanus by a *Duplicarius* of the Tungrian *Ala*. The neighbourhood of Mumrills includes the level Carse of Falkirk, very suitable for cavalry manœuvres. A very interesting tombstone in the Edinburgh Museum also came from near this fort, and it suggests that at some time in its history it was garrisoned by the Second Cohort of Thracians. The inscription reads :

DIS · M · NECTOVELIVS · F
VINDICIS · AN · XXX
STIP · VIII · NAT
IONIS · BRIGANS
MILITAVIT · IN
COH · II · THR

("To the Divine Manes. Nectoveliu, son of Vindex. Aged thirty. A Brigantian by birth, he served for nine years in the Second Cohort of Thracians.")

So it seems that here at Mumrills lies a Brigantian soldier who had fought for nine years against his Caledonian kinsmen.

I found still in process of being uncovered the baths belonging to the commandant's house, built partly of old red sandstone. This house is on a very large scale, and the baths correspond.

The excavations are approached from the road south of Mumrills farmhouse, through a field-gate next which stands a cow-shed. Roman stones can be seen built up into this shed. Young green corn was springing up in the field, when I was there, but a pathway through it led straight to the baths, which stood a little way back from the edge of the steep slope, high above the Falkirk Road and the Westquarter Burn. It is a splendid situation, overlooking the Carse to the north, while north-east is seen the Firth of Forth, and beyond it the Fife Hills. The Erngath Hills, called in local parlance, "Glower o'er 'em," rose, snow-covered, above Bo'ness.

After passing the north-east corner of the fort, the line of the Wall was found to make a sharp bend north again, to recover its former direction. Then it continues in an easterly course, south of the road to Beancross and south of the village, falling in with the road to Dollhouse Farm after crossing the Polmont Burn. From Dollhouse, if we wish to keep with the Wall we must keep north of the road, rejoining it when it has resumed its former direction after having made a bend southwards, the better to climb a hill.

As we mount this hill, called Cadger's Brae, the Ditch, it is now known, lies beneath the road, and the site of the Wall is in the field to the south of it. This continues to be so more than half-way through Polmont Park, where the stone base has been traced. Then the line of the Wall bends southwards to take advantage of a slight elevation, and the road bears to the north. After we have entered the glebe, the direction of the Wall is nearly due east and very straight. The hollow of the Ditch can be faintly seen in the enclosure north of Polmont Church. No conspicuous traces appear on the surface, however, until we have crossed the Millhall Burn and begun to mount the wooded hill beyond it. Then Rampart, Ditch, and Outer Mound are all very plain through the wood, and afterwards the Ditch runs eastwards along the high ridge overlooking the Forth, until cut off by the reservoir which supplies Grangemouth with water. The line appears again, running roughly east-north-east, through the next two fields, passing over the brow of the hill, and making a steep descent to the river. Here the Ditch was described by Dr. John Buchanan sixty or seventy years ago as "an immense slice cut out of the breast of the brae, with well-preserved edges," and still it is the most conspicuous portion of the Ditch to be seen at this end of the Wall.

It is in the field we have just passed through that Sir George Macdonald places the seventeenth fort,

INVERAVON, 4 miles from the eastern end of the Wall at Bridgeness.

In order to cross the river, we have to leave the Wall and to follow the road from Polmonthill Farm till it joins the main road to Bo'ness. So we come to the bridge. There is a weir across the Avon just at the place where the line of the Wall cuts it. It recalls other weirs into which Roman stones have been built, and one wonders if there are any kerb-stones from the Wall, or altars from the fort, concealed in this.

High above the river, on the left of the road we have now to follow, there stands the medieval keep of Inveravon, a mere fragment of a rounded tower, and a little farther on we come to the farmhouse of the same name.

Up to 1842 a large part of what appears to have been the stone foundation of the Wall was used as a roadway through this farm, but it was uprooted by the farmer, as dangerous for his horses. Half a mile farther on, the road crosses the Bo'ness railway by a bridge, known as *White Bridge*, which is directly in the track of the Ditch, and the now familiar hollow can be followed on the right of the road for a few hundred yards beyond the bridge. From this point the course appears to have been very straight, south of the farm of Nether Kinneil, through Kinneil Wood, and then south of Kinneil House, near which the eighteenth

fort, KINNEIL, is thought to have lain. Sir George Macdonald suggests as a likely spot the bank of the Gil Burn, near the entrance of Kinneil House.

After this for a mile and a half the line corresponds roughly with the public road to Bridgeness, known for part of its course as Graham's Dyke Road. Sir George Macdonald ascertained by means of the spade in 1921 that the Wall "forsook the high ground shortly before reaching Bridgeness and then headed direct for the promontory," where, he says, there was probably in Roman days a small harbour, long since silted up.

Here at the eastern termination of the Wall, which is now recognized to have been its beginning, was found near Carriden Church the largest and most richly-decorated of the distance-slabs that have come to light. It was discovered in 1868, actually on the little promontory, "in a position which plainly suggests that it had faced the sea just where it would be most likely to catch the eye of all who approached this part of the shore." The original is preserved in Edinburgh, but a cast of it has been set up here in a framework of Roman stones found on the spot. It is 9 feet 2 inches long, 3 feet 11 inches high, and has holes cut at the back as if for fastening it on a wall.

On either side of the central inscription is a panel carved with figures. That on the left represents

a Roman horseman riding down his enemies, who are shown as four naked Caledonians, completely at his mercy. That on the right represents the *suovetaurilia*—that is to say, the sacrifice of a swine, a sheep, and a bull, symbolizing the ceremony of purification considered necessary before a Roman army took the field against a foe; or possibly, in this case, before they undertook the great task of the Wall and Ditch.

Near where the tablet was found there is now a "Miners' Welfare Scheme," with sports grounds, a pavilion, and gardens. Coal-workings and their resultant heaps of slag and rubbish have had a share in pushing the sea farther back, as well as in finally obliterating all traces of Roman work. Gordon records vaguely the finding of altars, inscriptions, and coins "at Carriden," and Sibbald speaks of remains of great buildings there, and of pottery fragments. Gordon and Horsley both saw a Roman centurial stone built into the wall of Carriden House, but this has long since disappeared. The exact position of the BRIDGENESS fort still remains a matter for conjecture.

CHAPTER VIII

CAMELON

THE important fort of CAMELON lay on the line of the Roman road nearly a mile north of the Antonine Wall, and a mile and a half west by north of Falkirk. The site is now occupied by two foundries of an ironworks company, and is cut across by the railway. It was excavated under the auspices of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland in 1899-1900, when already the southern half of the site had been leased for the erection of the foundries, and the cutting of a railway siding had been begun. It was important to seize this, the very last, opportunity of tracing the remains of the Roman fort, but the work was necessarily done under great difficulties and with some sense of hurry.

The earliest mention of Camelon is the fabulous account in the Latin history of Scotland by Hector Boece, published in 1522. He gives Camelon a Pictish origin. Then comes George Buchanan's history of Scotland, of about 1582. There we read: "Only a few years before this was written remains of the ditches and walls, and likewise of

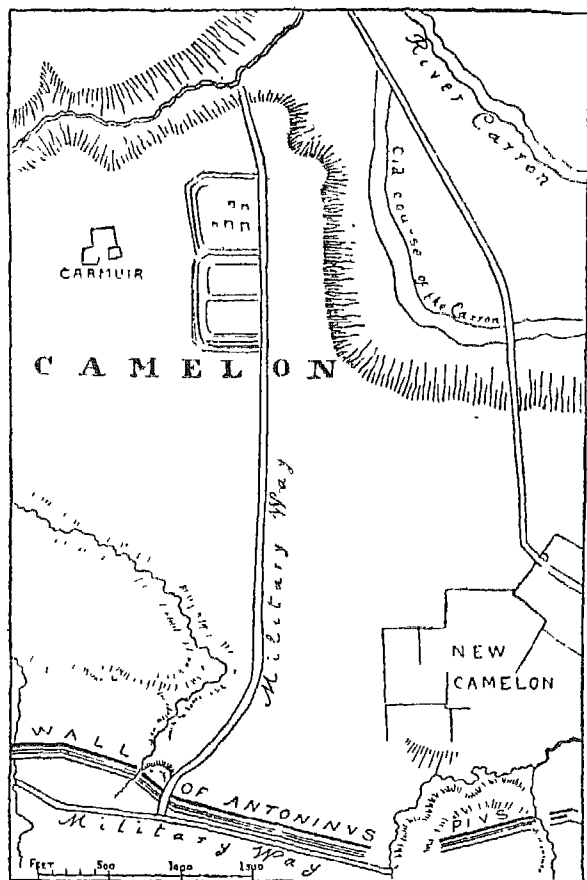


FIG. 5.—Camelon, in relation to the Antonine Wall.
(After Roy.)

the streets, were visible ; nor even yet are the walls so completely destroyed or the vestiges so indistinct as not to be traced in many places ; and in the earth, on being but slightly dug, squared stones are discovered, which the owners of the land in the vicinity use in the erection of their houses ; the inscriptions, too, that have been deciphered indicate it to have been of Roman workmanship."

An anonymous traveller of 1697 mentions " vestiges of two large squares of 600 feet each, in both of which are several steads or ruines of stone buildings, and a ditch and rampart round each square." This man had heard of Roman coins having been found, but the people would not admit that they had any. He notices the paved way, half a mile long, leading to the Antonine Wall.

Several writers refer to the finding of an anchor, or of sea-tackle, from which arose the strange tradition that the place had been a seaport.

Of the inscribed stones mentioned not one is known to exist, nor any copy of an inscription.

The situation of the fort was as usual chosen by the Romans in accordance with definite rules ; that is to say, it was on a plateau, close to a river and raised considerably above it. The Carron has changed its course since Roman times, and now flows not immediately under the fort walls but a third of a mile away. The lines of the ramparts visible on the surface in Roy's day could still be

traced in 1899, but they had escaped the notice of the Ordnance Surveyors, and were hardly recognizable except to a practised eye.

It will be seen by the plan made by the excavators that the northern of the two quadrilateral works uncovered presents all the usual features of a Roman stone-built fort, with *Principia*, buttressed granary, and commandant's house along one side of the *via principalis*, and rows of long, narrow barrack-buildings on the other. The presence of Antonine pottery fixes the date of this fort in the second century.

But it has been pointed out by Sir George Macdonald that the plan of the southern enclosure, as given, raises several important questions :

1. Why does building XVII., which looks like a suite of baths, lie athwart one of the main streets ?
2. Why is building XVIII. quite out of alignment with anything else that appears ?
3. If this is merely an annexe, why should it have several surrounding ditches, instead of the usual single ditch ?

For the excavators seem to have assumed that the remains of this "South camp" and its buildings represent merely an annexe to the "North camp," contemporary with it. But Sir George Macdonald draws attention to a passage in the report which runs : " It is not unlikely that an earlier work . . . was indicated by a parallel

PLAN OF ROMAN STATION
AT CAMELON
STIRLINGSHIRE

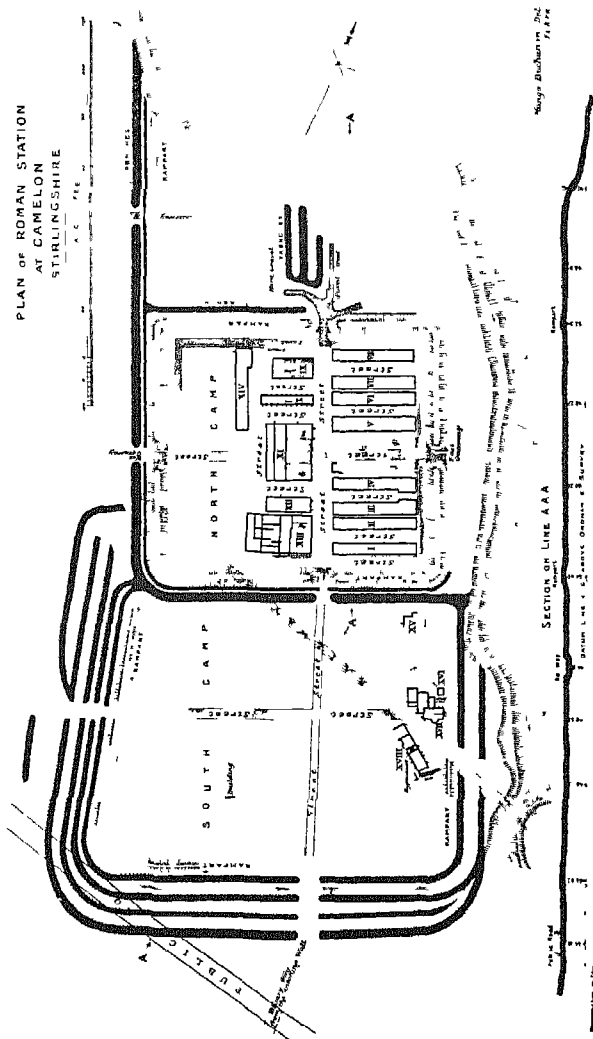


PLATE 6 PLAN OF FORTS AT CAMELON
FROM 1811 (1815-1817)

set of trenches which were found obliquely crossing those of the south quadrilateral at its south-west angle. The said trenches appeared to be at right angles to the Roman Via from the Antonine Wall, which points to an intention to construct a camp with that natural orientation, but as we found no other distinct remains of such a camp, we cannot say whether it ever was really made or not."

Sir George Macdonald is convinced that it was actually made, and he points out several important facts which seem to indicate the actual existence here of not merely one but two stone-built forts of the "Agricolan" period, each surrounded probably by several lines of ditches.

First, it was found that the remains of stone buildings in the south camp were much more deeply buried than those in the north camp. (They were, in consequence, better preserved, with stone walls standing, sometimes ten courses high.)

Secondly, the workmanship of these buildings was much superior to anything found in the north camp. The south wall of building No. XVIII., "70 feet long and 3 to 6 feet high, and well-buttressed, was the finest piece of Roman masonry discovered in Scotland." "That was written before the opening up of the massive north rampart of the fort at Castlecary," writes Sir George Macdonald, "otherwise it is still substantially true." He thinks this building may have been the house

of the commandant. Hypocaustal pillars, formed each of a single stone, were discovered in one chamber.

Thirdly, in the neighbourhood of these buildings were found most of the remarkable relics from the site, including much first-century Samian ware, pointing to a prolonged "Agricolan" occupation here.

Signs of reconstruction and repair observable in building No. XVII. give corroborative evidence of this. The plan of this building, the number of its drains, and the hypocaust pillars scattered about all suggest that it was a suite of baths. But in any case it could have had no connection with the fort of which No. XVIII. was a part, because the two buildings are set at totally different angles. Here, then, we have grounds for supposing that there were at least two pre-Antonine stone forts on the site.

As regards reconstruction and repair, a glance at the plan of building XVII. shows that the small room on the north-east is a later addition, because its walls enclose one of the original buttresses. Two other buttresses were found to have been later additions to the original structure.

Again, the north wall of the small building No. XVI. was found to have been built over a deep-sunk pit, and hence to have subsided. As this building appears to be contemporary with the baths, we may

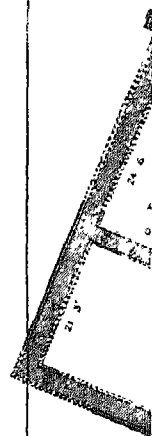
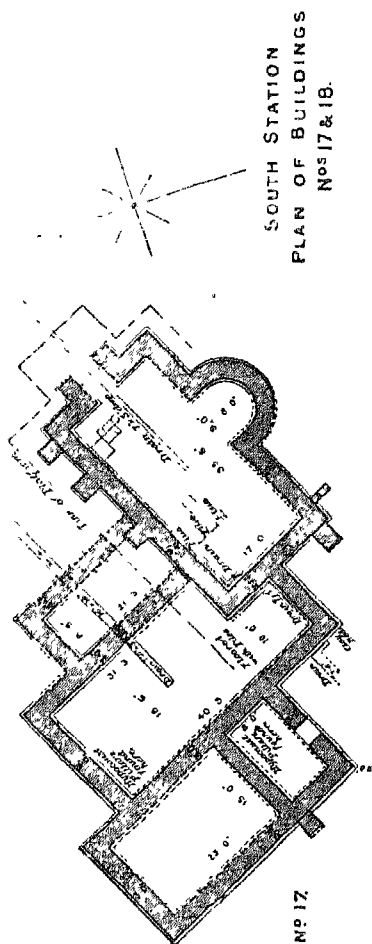


FIG. 6.—Plan of Baths at Camelton.
From P.S.A.S. xxxv.

gather that the fort to which these baths belonged was itself a secondary occupation.

To quote Sir George Macdonald once more :

"We can only hazard the guess that a fresh survey, could it have been undertaken, might have resulted in a plan in which the present 'South Camp' would have been replaced by a single-ditched annexe of the 'North Camp' superimposed on an earlier fort or forts." (The italics are mine.)

This would bring the testimony from Camelon into line with that from Newstead. The character of the datable objects found on the site witnessed to an "Agricolan" occupation of longer duration than the Antonine.

In the apsed compartment of building XVII. there was found a stone marked with the title of the Twentieth Legion, XX.V.V.F., indicating that this Legion was concerned in the construction of one of the early forts. This was the only inscription that the site yielded.

The area of the Antonine fort ("North Camp") was nearly 6 acres within the ramparts, or just over 9 acres including the defences. The massive earthen rampart was about 40 feet wide, and consisted largely of clay and peat, mixed here and there with branches of trees, and edged with stone kerbs. The gateways were paved with flat stones. The foundations of all the buildings were very easily

traced, lying as they did at a very little distance below the surface, sometimes barely 6 inches.

The small objects found during the excavations included quantities of Samian ware (chiefly early) and other pottery, bronze and enamelled fibulæ, clay lamps, roofing and flooring tiles, beads, bronze harness-mountings, weapons, tools, bone combs, and a fragment of a foot from a small statue in sandstone. The coins which could be identified were of Vespasian, Titus, Domitian, Trajan, Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, and Marcus Aurelius. Gordon speaks of having seen two beautiful silver coins of Vespasian and Antoninus Pius.

North of Camelon the Roman road can be traced running in a north-westerly direction towards Stirling, about half a mile to a mile west of the modern road. It passes through Torwood, the last remaining fragment of the great primeval forest of Caledonia. Here, overlooking the Roman road, high up on the edge of a steep cliff, there is a fine example of a broch, one of the very few to be seen outside the four northern counties of Scotland and the Orkneys and Shetlands. These remarkable round towers are peculiar to Scotland; between four and five hundred of them exist in the northern parts. This one is known as the Tappock. It is on the usual plan, with extraordinarily thick walls of unmortared stone, and chambers built in the

thickness of the walls. The enclosed circular space had originally a lean-to roof, supported on a ring of posts and an offset in the wall. The only entrance is by a very low narrow passage at the base, and there are no exterior windows whatever. As to the date of these buildings, a good deal of uncertainty exists, but they are probably post-Roman.

On the banks of the Carron, about a mile or so north-east of Camelon, there stood until the eighteenth century a very remarkable little stone building, known locally as "Arthur's O'on" (*i.e.* Oven). Accounts of it differ, but it is said that it was circular, with a domed roof, and with an opening at the top 12 feet across; that the walls, 6 feet thick, enclosed a chamber 20 feet in diameter, and that there was one door, 9 feet high, with a semi-circular arch, and a window above it. Many of the stones are said to have had lewis-holes in them. Nothing definite is known as to its origin or purpose, but it may have been a funeral monument. In 1743 the owner of the property, Sir Michael Bruce, the Laird of Stenhouse, demolished this building, to which his property owed its very name (Stonehouse), and he used the stones to repair a dam across the Carron, for a meal-mill. His action aroused a storm of indignation from archæologists, for this, if Roman, was actually the most complete Roman building which had remained to us in Britain. The dam has since been washed away by the river.

CHAPTER IX

ARDOCH

"**T**HIS Fort of Ardoch I recommend to the Publick as the most entire and best preserved of any Roman antiquity of that kind in Britain."

So wrote Alexander Gordon two centuries ago, and his words are still true: ARDOCH presents the most striking assemblage of earthworks of this kind that the Romans have left in our island. The fort cannot have had anything like the importance of Newstead or Cramond or Camelon in Roman times, but circumstances have combined to leave more of it visible to us.

To reach it, we have to follow the main road between Stirling and Crieff, which cuts right under the west side of the fortifications. Travelling northwards from Camelon by the main road, we leave the "Roman" road entirely on our left as far as Stirling, and again part of the way to Dunblane. It is represented sometimes by narrow byways. In the straight four miles from Dunblane to Greenloaning the modern road is probably on the Roman foundations. Greenloaning—delightful

name!—is the railway station for Ardoch, which lies only a mile and a half farther north.

Opposite the station is the Allanbank Hotel, once an old coaching inn, but sinking after the advent of steam to the rank of a mere wayside public-house. In the hands of the present proprietors it has again risen to be a quiet, comfortable resort for fishermen and motorists, very conveniently situated for visitors to Ardoch.

The road runs north towards Ardoch close alongside the Keir Water, through an expanse of flat green meadows a mile in width. The slow Knaick Water, after flowing under the turfy walls of Ardoch, winds its way like a silver snake southwards through this plain, and joins the Allan Water near Greenloaning, where our road crosses it. As we get near to Braco village, there rises ahead on the left a great grassy mound with a flat top, at one end of which grows a group of tall trees. This is Grinnan Hill, crowned with a fort. Gordon tells us that in his time there was a local tradition that a subterranean way led from the fort at Ardoch to Grinnan Hill, and that great treasures were hidden there. He quotes this verse, as handed down from father to son, time out of mind :

“ From the Camp of Ardoch
To the Grinnin Hill of Keir
Are Nine Kings’ Rents
For Seven Hundred Year.”

On my first visit to Ardoch I stopped two workmen in Braco village and asked them the way to the Roman fort. "Just round t' corner," said they, "thro' a li'l gate ayont t' lodge." The road crosses the Knaick Water on the far side of the village, and here it is very beautiful, the water a deep rich brown in colour, and overhung by the heavy boughs of chestnut, lime, hornbeam, and sycamore. On the left of the present bridge, and scarcely a dozen yards from it, there are the ruins of an older one, a single round arch, which the villagers persisted in assuring me was "Roman," but experts place it in the 1630-60 period. Its nearness to the fort is the only ground for its having ever been called Roman.

Just past the lodge of Ardoch House I found the "li'l gate," beyond which great grassy mounds towered up, like huge billows of the sea. There could be no question as to this being the Roman fort, even if a notice-board by the side of the road had not proclaimed it. The road has cut away the fortifications on the west side, the side skirted by the Knaick Water, so all that is left there is the great inner rampart and the ditch in front of it. Beyond the road, the ground slopes very steeply down to the stream. On the south the fortifications are mostly destroyed by agriculture. Roy seems to show farm buildings standing on their site. The eastern and northern fortifications are in

splendid preservation, with a clearly-marked entrance in the middle of each side where the ditches are interrupted to make a level roadway across. There are traces of a western entrance opposite the eastern.

On examination the fort will be seen to consist of an inner enclosure of about 5 acres, surrounded by a very strong earthen rampart. On the north and east sides it is defended by five deep ditches. The earth thrown up from them has made ridges between, and this gives the impression of a whole series of ramparts. The ditches were originally 8 or 9 feet deep, with an average width of 20 feet across the top, but now they are silted up for a depth of about 3 feet. The way in which these great lines of earthwork sweep round at the north-east angle of the fort is especially impressive. Roy shows traces of several ditches on the south side which has suffered still more damage since his time. On the west there was probably never more than one ditch, for the steep bank of the Knaick Water forms a natural protection. An outer rampart encloses the north and east sides, rising in some parts 8 or 9 feet above the ground outside.

The inner rampart was found by excavation to rest on a layer of stones 7 feet wide, and to be constructed of layers of gravel and clay, separated by brushwood and turf. Its height above the bottom of the innermost ditch is in some places

17 feet. A berm 6 or 8 feet wide separates it from the ditch. The ridges between the ditches are all flat-topped, forming convenient paths; but the one

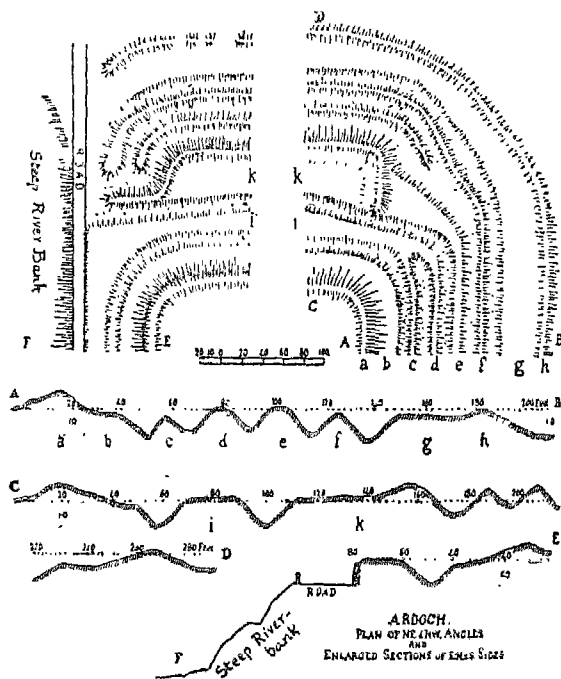


FIG. 7.—Ardoch. Plan of N.E. and N.W. Angles and Enlarged Sections of E., N., and S. Sides.

(From P.S.A.S. xxxii.)

marked *e* in Fig. 7 is twice as wide as any of the others, reaching at one point the width of 15 feet.

Even on first examination of the fort, no one can fail to notice the great masses of ground between

the second and third ditches on the north, and a lesser mound between the first and second ditch. These are what have been called "the inner and outer ravelins." They are a unique feature in a Roman fort, and are thought to have been constructed on this, the weakest front, for the purpose of pushing forward a bigger body of men for defence whenever necessary. The throwing-spear of the Roman soldier could not effectively command a distance of 280 feet, the whole space occupied by the fortifications of the north side. This distance would be halved for soldiers stationed on the outer ravelin. The extra width of the ridge marked *e* would serve the same purpose on the east side.

None of the early writers doubted that this was a Roman site, but some of them were so convinced that, if Roman, the fortifications must have been symmetrically arranged that they made their plans symmetrical in spite of the obvious irregularity of the mounds and trenches themselves. Gordon and Horsley both published plans of this kind. General Roy was the first to give us a faithful rendering, and, but for the further damage done to the southern side since his time, his plan represents what we can see to-day. Yet all that we really know about the fort is due to the excavations of 1896 and 1897, carried out under the direction of Mr. J. H. Cunningham. Then only was its Roman origin conclusively proved.

The traces of buildings discovered were of two kinds :

1. A long, narrow building of stone, of which the walls were remarkably perfect, although only about two courses remained. They lay close beneath the surface.

Sir George Macdonald has pointed out that this was obviously a *centuria* or barrack-building of the usual type. Its size and proportions (see Plate 7) would not fit anything else. It must therefore be

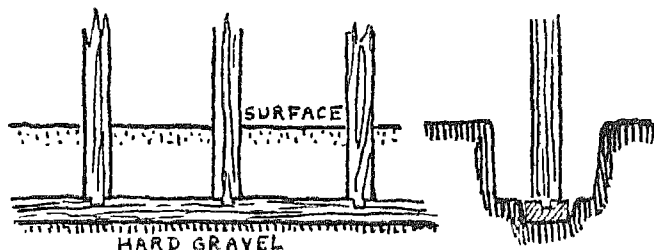


FIG. 8.—A Sleeper-Track in Section.

the sole-surviving remnant of a set of interior buildings of stone, contemporary with the defences as we see them now. All the rest seem to have been quarried away for use in the neighbourhood, leaving only a few indefinite traces of mason-work close under the turf.

2. Numerous traces of wooden buildings, belonging clearly to a period when the inner rampart enclosed a larger space than now, for there is no room for an *intervallum* between the present rampart

and these foundations. The woodwork of the buildings has entirely perished, but their outline can be traced by the post-holes or sleeper-tracks which were the two methods of providing for their foundations. On the plan will be seen long rows

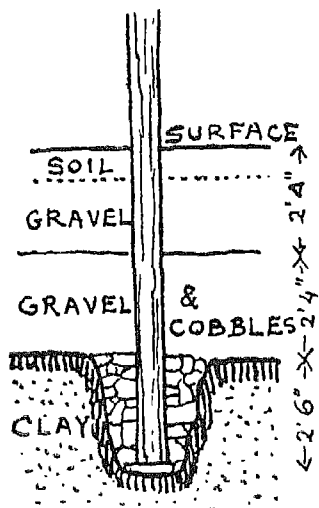


FIG. 9.—A Post-Hole in Section.

of small circles and long double-dotted lines. These represent the two methods of construction, both of which are in use at the present day. The builders dug either holes for the insertion of posts, or else narrow trenches in which were laid wooden sleepers, pierced at intervals with post-holes. The plan at first seems to present a confused medley of lines and small

circles, but a study of the way in which these overlap shows that the two methods must represent two different periods of occupation. It has not yet been ascertained which is the earlier, though a careful record of comparative levels in a future excavation of the untouched portions of the site might reveal this. We have seen that recent

excavations at Old Kilpatrick proved that both these methods were employed there, and that the sleeper-system was the earlier.

What has been already learned about Ardoch is enough to show that there were several successive Roman occupations of the site. The north-east quarter, the only part thoroughly cleared out, shows on the plan these three types of barrack-building, one above the other, of which the two earlier, of wood, may be assigned to the Agricola period, and the latest, of stone, would belong to the Antonine age.

The Principia of the "sleeper" period can be identified, with its entrance facing south, and its *sacellum*, or shrine of the standards, opposite the entrance.

The east gate has been fortified by palisading, as was proved by the deep post-holes, found in a wonderful state of preservation, and by sleeper-tracks. Near the north gate and within the rampart were found the only signs of a hypocaust and flues, associated with rude masonry lying very near the surface.

The fact that the early interior buildings of the fort were of wood explains the need for very wide lines of defence. A large number of terra-cotta sling-bullets were found in the region of the Principia. Cæsar mentions that red-hot sling-bullets of clay were the missiles used by the Nervii

to set fire to the straw-thatched buildings of a Roman camp, and this was probably the fate of the wooden buildings at Ardoch. Floor-tile fragments were found on the site, but no sign of roofing-tiles. It was obviously desirable to keep the enemy as far out of range as possible, with such

inflammable material to be protected.

Objects found on the site during the excavations included a small amount of Samian ware of the first and second centuries. The coins were few and in bad condition. The only ones that could be identified were denarii of

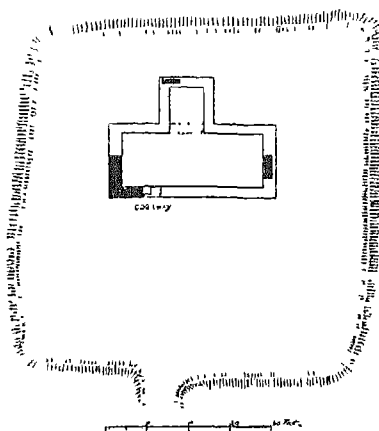


FIG. 10.—Plan of Chapel on the Site of the Agricola Principia.

(From *P.S.A.S.* xxxli.)

Nero, Vespasian, Domitian, and Hadrian, so the report tells us, but the whole collection appears to have been lost. Recent efforts to trace it have failed.

A small rectangle within the inner ramparts of the fort, but not correctly aligned with them, was long called the "prætorium." Excavation has shown that it really represents the graveyard of a

little chapel of about the year 1400, whose stone foundations were uncovered. Beneath them were found traces of the Agricolan Principia mentioned above, and of other buildings of the same period, all of which had been built of wood and reared on wooden sleepers.

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The earliest notice of Ardoch as a Roman site is in a very interesting letter written by James, Lord Drummond, afterwards fourth Earl of Perth, to Mr. Patrick Drummond, on 15th January 1672.

After a reference to the recent discovery of a large hoard of Roman coins at some place within five miles of Drummond Castle, "amongst the hills which lye at its back," the writer goes on to say :

"The leaguer of the Romans for one whole winter lay at Ardoch, some four miles or more towards the south from that place, and ther is to be sein ther entrenchments and fortifications in circular lines, deepir in some places than that a man on horseback can be seen ; and north-east from that ther are more trenches, alyke in form and largeness ; but the ground being much better, has made the people, against my grandfather's order, till them doune in some places. Ther was near these a round open, lyke the mouth of a narrow well, of a great depth, into which my grandfather ordered a malefactor to go, who (glad of the opportunity to escape hanging) went and brought up a

spur and buckler of brasse, which were lost the time that a garison of Oliver's dispossessed us of Drummond. Ther was found a stone ther, upon which was cut an inscription to show that a captain of the Spanish Legion died ther. If you please, I shall coppie it for you. It is rudly cut."

The inscribed stone referred to was kept at Drummond Castle till 1744, and then given to the Academy of Glasgow. It is now in the Hunterian Museum of that city. It is noteworthy as being the only Roman stone with a complete inscription found north of the Forth, and reads as follows :

DIS MANIBVS
AMMONIVS : DA
MIONIS) COH
I HISPANORVM
STIPENDIORVM
XXVII HEREDES
F · C

Sir George Macdonald translates it thus :

"(Sacred) to the Divine Manes
Ammonius (son) of Damio
(centurion ?) of the First Cohort
of Spanish Auxiliaries
(a soldier of) 27 (years') service.
His heirs caused (this) to be erected."

This is the only clue we have as to the garrison of the fort at Ardoch. The First Cohort of Spanish Auxiliaries was for some time stationed at Uxellodunum (Maryport) in Cumberland, but is not



PLATE THE SOUTHERN VIEW OF THE TITINGEN AT ALL CH

otherwise known to have been in Scotland. We shall find the First *Ælian* Cohort of Spanish Auxiliaries stationed at *Castra Exploratorum* (Netherby), the fort between Hadrian's Wall and Birrens.

Hitherto we have been considering only the permanent fort at Ardoch, but there are also large temporary camps farther north, as shown in Roy's plan. These would have furnished protection for a considerable army during a campaign, while the fort would be held permanently by a comparatively small body, perhaps only a cohort. The largest of the camps contained 125 acres. The second camp seems to have been not quite half as large as this. The third is generally called the *procestrium*, for it adjoined the permanent fort, to which it was a later addition.

Very few traces of the two larger camps can now be seen. They have been destroyed by agricultural processes, and only in woods or on moorland have small portions of the mounds been preserved. The easiest fragment to find is one running east and west through the plantation which occupies the angle formed by the junction of the Crieff and Blackford roads. It is about 50 yards south of the Blackford road.

The western rampart of the *procestrium* is still very conspicuous; so is a portion of its ditch at the south-east angle, where it runs from the outer

rampart of the permanent fort to the Roman road on the east of it. The northern rampart of the *procestrium* runs through the fir-plantation south of the Blackford road, but the thickness of the growth makes it very difficult to trace. In trying to follow it up I found my way blocked by a small stream too wide to jump, but a fir tree had been blown down across it, and the trunk, resting on its own boughs, made a very springy natural bridge, raised well above the water.

I spent a long summer's day sketching on this site, and I shall always remember the mounds of Ardoch, not only for their grandeur, but also for their wild flowers, and for the honey-sweet fragrance with which the air was filled. The turf was white with ladies' bedstraw, purple with heartsease and vetch, blue with bird's-eye speedwell. The fresh young shoots of the whinberry (the Scottish blae-berry) stood out vividly against the dark green of moss and of tufts of heather, while the purple-spotted orchis raised its spikes from the midst of beds of yellow potentilla. Plovers haunted the spot, circling round, or alighting quite close to me as I lay on the grass, so still that they could not tell I was alive.

It was a perfect day, with a deep blue sky and many floating clouds, like white-sailed ships on a celestial ocean. Not a soul disturbed the peaceful solitude. The encircling hills to the south appeared

through a lavender haze. The great trees which line the roadway threw heavy shadows up and down the mounds. In the gardens of Ardoch House the rhododendrons poured forth such a lavish and unstinting wealth of blossom that they seemed to say as clearly as if in words: "All beauty has an infinite source; we know it, and we prove it."

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CHAPTER X

KAIMS CASTLE AND THE VALLEY OF THE EARN

AFTER leaving Ardoch, the Roman road rises gradually from a level of 400 feet above the sea to an elevation of 680 feet, at KAIMS CASTLE, on the Muir of Orchill, $2\frac{1}{4}$ miles distant. The road is only occasionally traceable where it passes through uncultivated ground, and then only by slight variations in the level and in the vegetation.

Near Ardoch it was found by excavation to be 26 feet wide, slightly cambered, and composed of tightly compacted gravel. Opposite Kaims Castle it was more elaborate, with a pavement of roughly-dressed flagstones, over that a layer of broken stones, and a final surface of gravel.

Kaims Castle lies off to the left of the road near the lodge of Orchill House. I asked a boy who was weeding the gravel near the lodge if he could direct me to the Castle, partly to learn whether there was any local interest in such things. He pointed to the cross-roads on ahead, saying that the Castle had been "ower there," but that he

thought it was "turned down" now. And all the time it was just behind him! The present laird has erected a flagstaff on the top, so no one can fail to recognize it. A natural mound appears to have been chosen as the site of the fort, which is enclosed by a rectilinear rampart, but encircled by curvilinear trenches, an unusual method with the Romans. It was excavated in 1900, for the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, by Dr. Thomas Ross and Mr. J. H. Cunningham. A paved roadway was found to enter the fort on the south-east side, that is, the side facing both the original Roman road and the modern road. A considerable space inside the fort was also paved. No relics were discovered except two shapeless lumps of lead.

Gordon considered the name should be "Camps" Castle, because, so he said, the forts of Ardoch and "Innerpeffery" (*i.e.* Strageath) could be seen from it. At present, trees interrupt the view in both these directions, but there is a fine open outlook to the north and north-west, with glimpses of some of the Highland giants across a foreground of whin and heather, and a middle distance of woodland.

The ground falls from this point to the level of 100 feet at the river Earn, above which stood the next fort, usually known as STRAGEATH.

From Kaims Castle towards Strageath the present-day road crosses and recrosses the line of the Roman

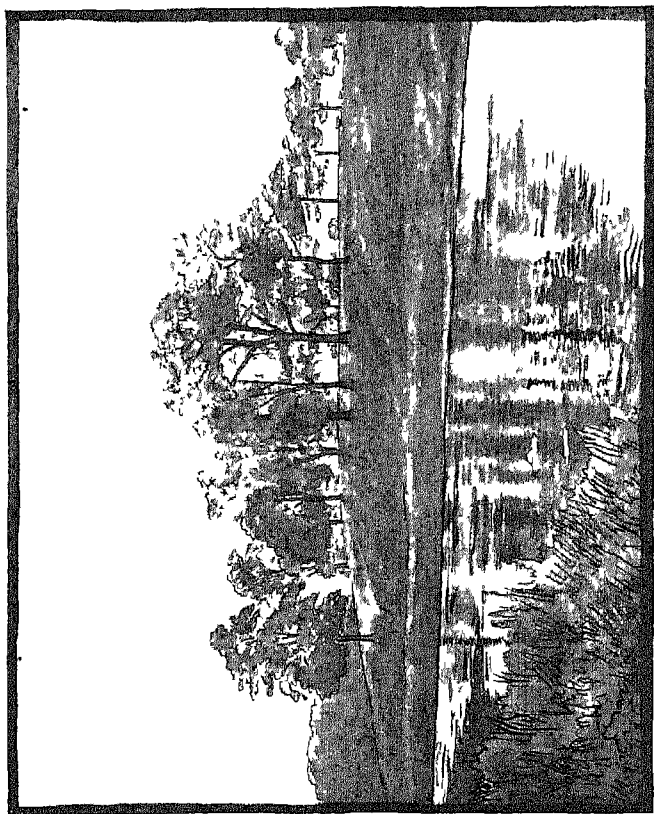


PLATE 9 THE RIVER FACING THE SUN IN SUMMER

road over Orchill moor, and then makes a double turn over the Machany Water by the picturesque "Bishop's Bridge." Soon after this it bears round to the west for Muthill, an old Culdee village, while the Roman road (not now traceable) kept in a north-easterly direction for Strageath. The old Culdee church at Muthill was rebuilt by Bishop Ochiltree in 1419, but it has a very quaint old tower of still earlier date. It has been long abandoned, and the church now in use is quite modern. At the north end of the village we bore to the right for Strageath, crossing the railway and keeping straight on till we reached a farm known as Mains of Strageath. We inquired at a cottage on the way, and the labourer who came to the door told us we were already in Strageath, adding that it included four or five farms. He said he knew of no fort in the neighbourhood, "only the Roman camps." That was good enough for us, so we followed his instructions, leaving the car outside the Mains, in a very boggy farmyard, and walking down a still muddier lane hedged with wild gooseberry bushes and wild roses. A footpath led straight on to the river, to an old ferry, but we turned south-east, cutting across a sorrel-red field full of sorrel-red cows, and so came to the mound of the Roman fort, high up above a V-shaped bend in the Earn. It was covered with a crop of what should have been green wheat, but yellow charlock made it a blaze of gold. The

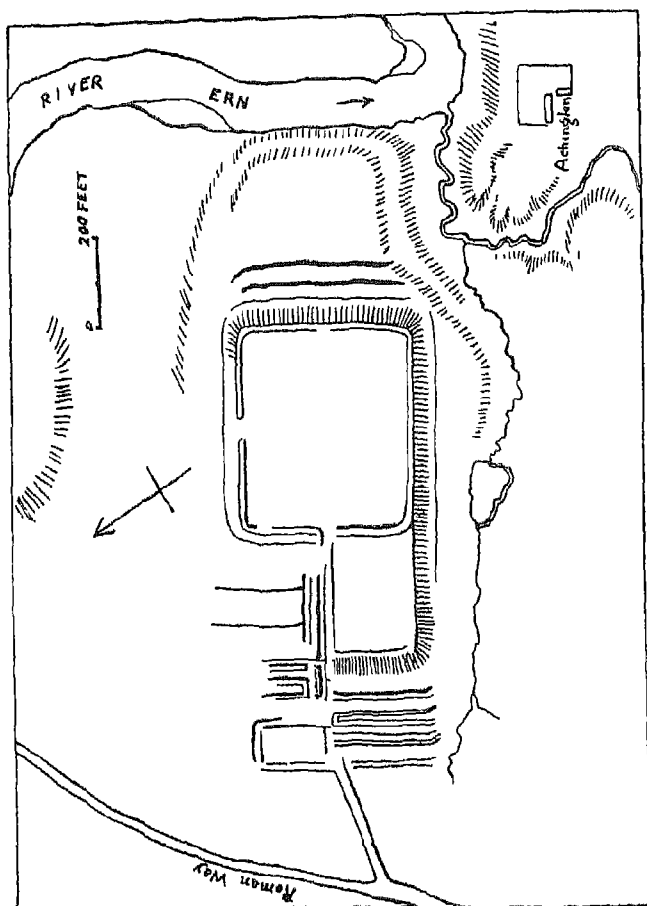


FIG. 12.—Plan of Strageath Fort. (After Roy.)

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mounds so clearly seen in Roy's day and surveyed by him are now almost indistinguishable.

Dr. Christison wrote of this site :

" In 1894 I found the works much levelled by the plough, but distinctly enough indicated, excepting the advanced works on the south-east, which were entirely obliterated."

He also says that the tenant during nineteen years' occupation had never turned up pottery nor come on stonework, but that this was by no means conclusive evidence against the Roman origin of the fort. He had likewise never heard of any Roman remains having been turned up at Lyne or at Burnswark, yet now there is no doubt that these are Roman sites. Excavation has proved it.

Another thirty years of ploughing has done its work on the Strageath mounds, and now it is the beauty of the spot and its surroundings that are its chief attraction. As usual, the Romans have chosen high ground above a river. Whatever it may have been in their time, now the river-bank is beautifully fringed with trees. Boys and girls fishing at the foot of the high bank reminded us that the Romans had at least one very handy source of food. Across the river the fields were rosy pink with the delicate bloom of the grass. The ruins of Innerpeffray Castle could be seen on the opposite bank near the

farmhouse of South Mains, and farther north on higher ground, almost hidden in the trees, there were the old Library and Chapel, endowed by Lord Madderty in the seventeenth century.

DEALGIN ROSS AND CARPOW

The Romans seem to have had a whole chain of

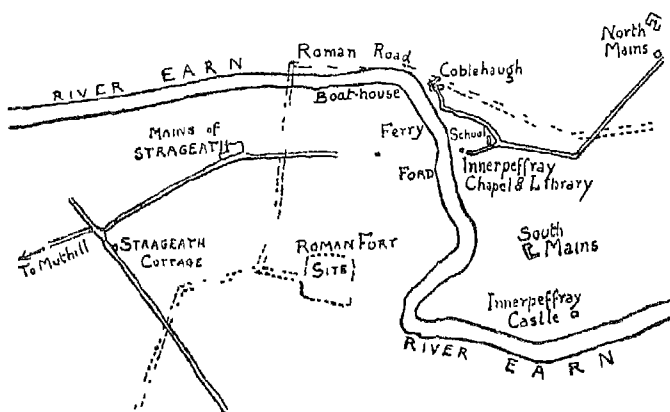


FIG 13 —Map of Strageath

Scale 3 inches to the mile.

posts along the valley of the Earn, for two other sites of permanent forts are known—one at DEALGIN ROSS, near Comie, in Upper Strathearn, and one at CARPOW, close to the Futh of Tay.

Of the latter Sir George Macdonald writes :

“ The existence of a Roman fort at Carpow, near the confluence of the Earn and the Tay, is sufficiently

well attested, although no systematic attempt has ever been made to open up the site. Its position seems to mark it as one of a series designed to guard a road which ran up Strathearn, joining the main north road at Strageth and probably passing beyond it to Dealginross. We hear of two Roman coins being found on the spot [in 1823] by a man when scouring a ditch, 'one of them a beautiful coin of the Empress Faustina.' This is slender evidence, but such as it is it points to the second century. . . . A cement-lined bath was open when I visited the spot in 1901 with Professor Haverfield and Mr. R. P. L. Booker."

In a letter dated 2nd April 1783, Mr. James Wedderburne of Inveresk writes to Mr. Adam Cardonnel :

" At the confluence of the River Earn and Tay, on a noble and beautiful situation, are very considerable remains of the same kind [as those found at Inveresk], pavements, etc., ignorantly mistaken for the ruins of a palace of the Earls of Strathern. They are on the estate of Carpon belonging to a near relation of mine, and I shall examine them more narrowly this summer. By this post and the camp at Ardoch the Romans meant, at one time, to have considered the river Earn as their boundary, and covered the county of Fife completely ; and they must have been in peaceable possession when they erected stone and brick buildings of imported materials. They have gone to a considerable

distance from Carpon to get a good free-stone easily cut. Beyond and to the northward of their posts they must also have extended to a high and settled authority. . . . The Pictish capital, Abernethy, is within a mile of Carpon ; and the ruins, one sees by the side of a harbour in the Firth of Tay at the mouth of the river Earn."

He adds a paragraph about the excellence of the mortar " which has been applied to the outside of the end wall by way of stucco."

This port at the mouth of the Earn may possibly have been Agricola's port, *Trucculensis portus*, mentioned by Tacitus. But Cramond is another claimant.

From Carpow (or Carpon, as it is called above) a road would have run up the valley to Strageath, and thence, 8 miles farther, to Dealgin Ross on the banks of the Ruchill Water, near where it joins the Earn.

Sir George Macdonald writes of the Dealgin Ross sites :

" In 1755 General Roy saw and surveyed the remains of two entrenchments at Dealginross, near Comrie. They represent a temporary camp, and a permanent fort, and the larger one at least is characterized by certain features that suggest a first-century date. A gold coin of Titus Vespasian, and a second brass of Domitian, have been found there."

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Roy believed this to be the site of the great battle between Agricola and Galgacus. We have Dr. Christison's description of what was visible in 1898 :

“ The sole remnant that could be pointed out to me two years ago was an unintelligible fragment of a mound. Yet much of them survived in the early part of the present century, when my father was shown round by an enthusiastic guide, who had told the tale of the battle so often that he seemed to believe he had been one of the combatants, and after describing the positions of the armies and their manœuvres, wound up, as he pointed to the very spot where the Caledonians made their last attempt to retrieve the fortunes of the day, by saying, ‘ Here we was wadin’ up to oor knes in bluid ’ ! ”

CHAPTER XI

GASK AND THE ROMAN ROAD TO PERTH

ONE of the best authenticated stretches of Roman road in Scotland runs in a very straight line eastwards from Strageath towards Gask, bearing towards the north-west as it nears Gask House, and traceable nearly as far as Dupplin Loch. For about 5 miles out from Strageath it runs as a rough track through fields and woods, after which it falls in with the modern road. Sibbald writes of it in 1707: "A little to the eastward [of Strageath fort] beginneth the Roman *via militaris*, called by the common people the *Street Way*. This in some places is raised above the ground almost a man's height, and is so broad that one coach may pass by another with ease upon it, and this runneth towards the river Tay."

Sibbald had been appointed family physician to the Earl of Perth in 1678, and had therefore good opportunities of studying the antiquities in this neighbourhood.

A number of curious little outposts have long been known to stand along this road, some on

the north side, others on the south. On the surface they have appeared as circular areas, averaging 40 feet in diameter and surrounded by a ditch, and by a rampart formed of the soil from the ditch. Nothing similar is known in Britain, but they must have been very like the wooden towers along the

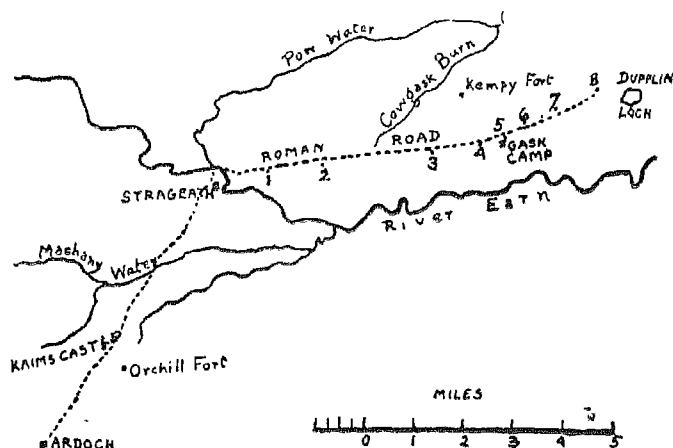


FIG. 14.—Map of Roman Road and Outposts.
(From *P.S.A.S.* xxxv.)

German *limes*, though on a smaller scale. Two of them are north of the road and east of Gask House, and five others are south of the road and west of Gask House. The space between them is sometimes only half a mile, but in one case over 2 miles, which suggests that there may have been more than are at present known.

We read in the *Statistical Account of Perthshire* (1845), under the heading "Gask":

"The Roman Causeway which extends through the parish on the highest ground is 20 feet broad, composed of rough stones, closely laid together. . . . By the side of this causeway, Roman stations are visible, capable of containing from twelve to twenty men. They are enclosed by ditches, which are very distinct."

In the summer of 1900 excavations were carried out along this stretch of road by the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, and it was then ascertained that a wooden tower, averaging about 9 feet square, had stood in the centre of each circular patch. The four post-holes, indicating the corners of the tower, were found in each case.

In order to walk this piece of Roman road, I arranged to be dropped from a car near the school at Findo Gask one morning, and to be picked up again in the evening at a point 6 or 7 miles westward, near Strageath. My map of this neighbourhood was only half an inch to the mile, so I first called at the school to ask the schoolmaster if I might look at his. Inch-to-the-mile maps are generally provided by the education authorities. I was fortunate in finding the master very much at leisure, for, owing to special circumstances, his school was nearly empty that day, and he not

only showed me the map, but was able to come with me to point out several of the outposts. We turned first along a grassy track almost opposite the school and walked westward through the woods. Then bearing south, we came to an outpost (No. 6) on the north of the road in the shadow of great beech trees and overgrown with tall bracken. I should never have found it by myself. This one was very thoroughly excavated in 1900. It has a total diameter of 108 feet, of which 44 go to the inner area, 14 to the trench, and 18 to the mound on either side. The trench is 6 feet deep. Nearly in the centre were found the four post-holes, about 18 inches in diameter and 2 feet deep, defining a space 11 feet by 9.

The writer of the *Statistical Account of Gask* in 1845 says that this mound has been known from time immemorial as Witch Knowe, and the tradition is that witches were burned there. Human bones had been dug up, all entire, including two skulls, and also coal-cinders. In the same place had lately been found a small urn, of coarse workmanship, which would contain about three English pints. The excavators of 1900 found no human remains, nor pottery.

The next outpost (No. 5) was about half a mile farther west, and on the opposite side of the road, just beyond Gask House. It was surrounded by a solemn grouping of tall fir trees, and though smaller

was much more visible than the last, as a circular area with a rounded surface surrounded by a ditch, of which the earth had been thrown outwards to form a mound. The schoolmaster had to search for it a little while, and as I waited in the road a field-vole ran past me, closely pursued by a stoat.

I jumped towards the stoat, which had so much "way on" that it could not stop itself, and it actually touched my shoe before turning back. However, the vole had escaped in the meantime.

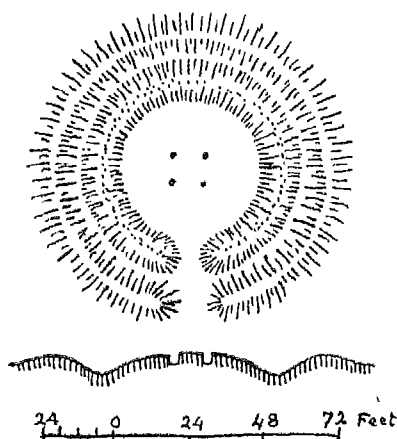


FIG. 15.—Plan of Witch Knowe.
(From *P.S.A.S.* xxxv.)

There was a permanent Roman fort at GASK immediately to the south of outpost No. 5. It seems to have occupied over $4\frac{1}{4}$ acres, and to have been rectangular, with an entrance, covered by a straight traverse, in each side, but only very slight traces of it remain. It was described and surveyed by an anonymous writer in 1789. From his plan is taken Fig. 16, where the little outpost (f) will

be seen to be situated very close to the fort-rampart.

Excavations in 1900 proved this plan to be very correct, and the fourth traverse, outside the southern entrance, was also traced. The southern part of the fort-enclosure had been ploughed.

We walked eastward, past the road to the school, to the site of another outpost (No. 7) on the north of the road. It was under a crop of wheat and barely discernible. My guide told me that old Mr. Oliphant, the former owner of Gask House,

would never allow it to be ploughed up, as he took a great interest in the Roman remains. When excavated, this outpost was found, unlike the others, to be surrounded by a rampart made up of about ten alternate layers of black mould and yellow or red clay. The four post-holes, not actually in the centre, were connected by flat cuts, as if to hold beams. The trench, with its outer mound, had recently been ploughed away.

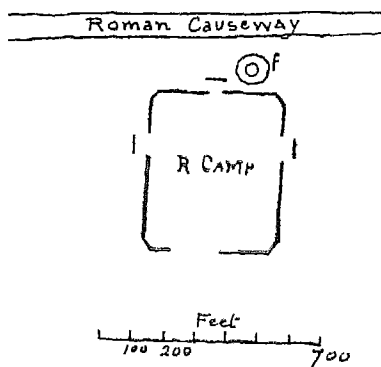


FIG. 16.—Plan of Roman Fort at Gask.

There is yet another outpost (No. 8) in this direction, also on the north side of the road, not far from Dupplin Loch, but it is different in character from the others. Not only is it larger, and oval in shape, but it is also situated on a hillock known as Midgate Hill, and has an outwork. Both the little fort and its outwork were excavated, but no relics were found, and only some very rough paving in the centre of each.

I now turned westward to follow the Roman road through the fields.

Not far west of Gask House the present road makes a right-angled bend to the south, but through a gate the Roman road carries on in its straight course, first as a rough cart-road leading through a plantation to a farm called Muir o' Fauld, lying off on the right. In the early part of this road a dense fir wood lay on either side, shutting out all air, and making it very hot. While I was resting here I noticed a wonderful fungus growing round a fir-tree trunk, in three flat steps, one above the other, all reddish-brown, with a scalloped cream-coloured edge. It projected horizontally from the tree-trunk for at least a foot, was quite an inch thick, and so solid that it bore my weight without bending when I stood on it. The lowest step was about 9 inches from the ground, and underneath it a whimsically-minded rabbit had made his burrow, thus finding a ready-made verandah to his house. It

was just like a picture in a fairy-tale when a young rabbit came out and sat on the fungus.

After leaving the fir wood and crossing a piece of open ground, the road continued through a narrow strip of woodland, with scattered beech trees, three of the finest of which had been felled and lay across the path. The branches had already been lopped off and lay in huge piles. The road had been cut up into deep ruts by the carting of the timber during wet weather, and now these ruts had dried hard, but I could see no sign of stone paving even in the deepest places. Up here, on much higher ground, there was a refreshing breeze.

After falling in for a short distance with the lane to Kirkton Church, the road next passes above Craigens Farm, where it is enclosed by a beech hedge and by barbed wire and wire netting. A piece of barbed wire was stretched right across it, at a height of about 4 feet above the ground, with the object, I suppose, of keeping cattle from straying there. It then became a thick tangle of undergrowth, through which I had to fight my way. Wild roses, broom, and brambles, all smothered with blossom, disputed every inch of the ground. Presently there was only a mound and a ditch to mark off the road from the young plantation through which it passed. I met not a soul, and it was clear that the pathway, such as it was, was seldom trodden. But curlews, whistling softly, flew so low over me that I could

see the very markings of their beautiful brown and white plumage, and hares started from under my feet.

Next came a stretch of open ground overgrown with heather and broom. Either by intention or accident it had been set on fire, and the broom stood up like gaunt black skeletons rising out of beds of blackened heather. The camber of the road was very distinguishable here after such a clearance of the undergrowth, and here and there kerb-stones were visible. A fir wood on the left and a plantation of young oaks on the right shut in the road a little farther on. At the end of the avenue appeared a glorious vista of the distant hills, with the peak of Ben Vorlich towering over all, and henceforward I hardly lost sight of the hills to the end of my walk. The mingled fragrance of blackberry blossom and wild roses filled the warm air, and here, strange to say, was a bush of hawthorn still putting out belated blossoms. A magnificent panorama of the mountains opened up, including Stuc a Chroin and Creag Dhubh. Small farmhouses could be seen right and left of the road. Soon the Roman road crossed the road to Fowlis Wester and then struck into a field of shining undulating grass, starred with golden hawkweed and shimmering under the touch of little gusts of wind. It was standing for hay, so I had to turn aside and follow the farm-road to Shearerston. The larks here were wonderful, pour-

ing out torrents of liquid melody in ecstasies of unself-conscious joy. I struck the Roman road again near Shearerston, and looking back I could trace its line through the tall grass. The farmer at Shearerston let me follow it on through his premises, and after crossing a field it entered a plantation. I was wondering whether I was on the right tack when suddenly and unexpectedly I came across another outpost in the wood (No. 1), quite unmistakable, with circular mound and ditch complete. I then found it was marked in my Ordnance Map, but only faintly as a small circle, with no name.

I was now very near Strageath. The Roman road passed behind Parkneuk Cottage, but I had to come out into the present road, which bears round to the right in front of it. A track through fields on the left, leading to the farm of North Mains, continues as a lane to Innerpeffray Chapel and Library on the high bank of the Earn opposite Strageath. I could see no trace of the Roman road under the crops in these fields. There is a little schoolhouse near the chapel, and I met the teacher coming away with her small flock of five, the day's work done. In answer to my query, she told me there was no means of getting across the river nowadays, though a ferry is marked in the map. The old ferry-boat had sprung a leak, and finally sank. Another was supplied from Drummond Castle, which is $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles due west from here, but at the

first big flood it broke loose from its moorings and was washed away—"So now we do without."

At the gate leading to the chapel I found the car standing, so my friends, who had been golfing at Gleneagles, had won the race. In this secluded spot, at the very world's end, with no way out even across the river, there lives an artist who acts as librarian, and is always ready to show the books and the old buildings to any visitors who come. There are many wonderful old books, but the one I remember best was a copy of the *Notitia Dignitatum*, which was lying open, and was the first thing to strike my eye as I entered. It seemed so very appropriate here on the verge of the Roman road. Of this place we read in the *Statistical Account of Perthshire* (1845) :

"The most valuable library in this quarter is that of Innerpeffray, for the use of ministers and students. It was left by Lord Madderty, with a small salary for the librarian, which with the fees of a school that he teaches in one of the wings of the building, afford him a small living. In the library there are many rare and excellent books, especially on divinity."

From the library windows, brilliant green meadows could be seen sloping down to the tree-fringed river, and a spot of red and orange marked where a pupil of the artist's was sitting sketching on the bank. We were shown a quaint tomb in the graveyard of

the chapel, commemorating the parents of a large family of boys and girls. On one side there appeared an effigy of the mother with a long string of girls, one below the other, and on the other side that of the father with a similar string of boys, all carved in a very primitive style.

The Roman road seems to have kept well to the north of the chapel and library, and to have followed along the north bank of the Earn, making then a right-angled bend southwards across the river in order to pass close on the west of the fort of Strageath.

Two other fortified sites in this neighbourhood were explored in 1900—Orchill Fort and Kempy,—both placed high up above the junction of two rills, and showing great similarity of structure and plan. They were found to have had curved lines of defence (mounds and ditches), and in each case wooden palisades had formed the innermost line.

BERTHA

During the latter part of the eighteenth century encroachments made by the river Almond, at a point about 2 miles north of Perth, exposed in its freshly-cut bank the interior of great rubbish-pits, which seem to have exactly resembled those since found at Newstead and elsewhere. This clearly proved the existence of a Roman fort near the confluence of the

Almond and the Tay. The first series of pits was seen in 1759, a second in about 1761, and a third in 1774. The site is sometimes marked "Bertha" or "Orrea" in the Ordnance Maps. The former name is merely Perth, or Berth Latinized. There is no evidence of a Roman fort with such a name. Orrea is found in Ptolemy's list of Scottish towns, and stands, no doubt, for the Latin *Horrea*, Granaries. Its identification with the "Bertha" site has no better foundation than the forged "Itinerary" attributed to Richard of Cirencester.

At the head of the first chapter of *The Fair Maid of Perth* there are four lines professedly anonymous, but really composed by Scott himself:

" 'Behold the Tiber ! ' the vain Roman cried,
Viewing the ample Tay from Baiglie's side ;
But where's the Scot that would the vaunt repay,
And hail the puny Tiber for the Tay ? "

The reference is to a "tradition" that when Agricola's army arrived in sight of the Tay and the North and South Inches, they cried with one consent, "Ecce Tiber ! Ecce Campus Martius !" (Behold the Tiber ! Behold the field of Mars !)

Dr. James Macdonald has traced this "tradition" back to its origin. Apparently it dates only from 1638, when a small book appeared, containing a poem called "The Muses' Threnodie," by a native of Perth, Henry Adamson. The whole incident seems to have been a creation of Adamson's poetic imagination.

CHAPTER XII

INCHTUTHIL

INCHTUTHIL, set in beautiful surroundings, is a site of special interest, for it is the most northerly point in Scotland where evidence of a whole series of Roman occupations has been found, as at Newstead. The excavations of 1901 resulted in very important discoveries of traces of permanent forts, over and above the large semi-permanent camp surveyed and planned by General Roy ; and the evidence obtained goes to show that the famous Mount Graupius of Tacitus must have lain considerably north of the river Tay. All previously suggested sites farther south must be ruled out.

Inchtuthil (pronounced with syllables divided thus, Inch-tu-thil) is on the Tay, in the county of Perthshire and the parish of Caputh, 7 miles south-east of Dunkeld, and about 15 miles by road north of Perth. It is a flat, gravelly plateau, raised about 55 feet above the surrounding level, and in former times it was actually an island. Even now when the Tay and its small tributary on the north overflow their banks, the low ground to the north

and west is inundated, and the plateau is isolated, so the inhabitants told us. The course of the river Tay has changed since Roman times. It used

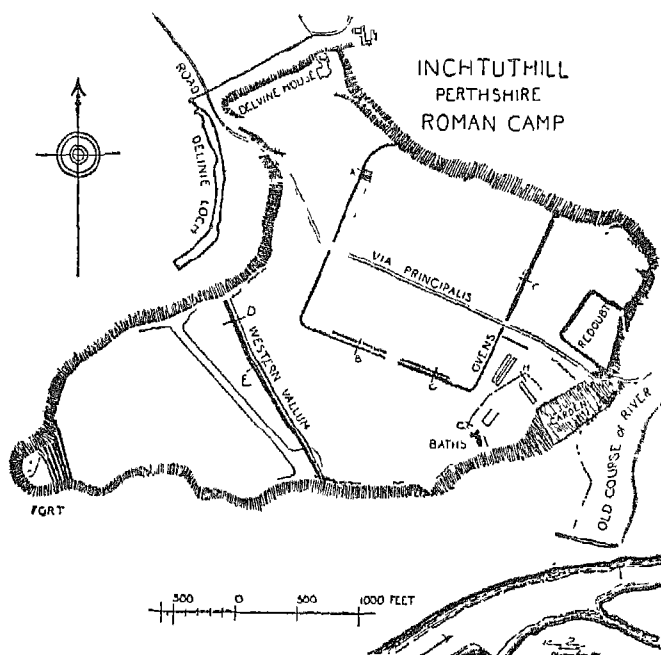


FIG. 17.—Map of the Plateau of Inchtuthil. (After Ross.)
(From *P.S.A.S.* xxxvi.)

to flow close under the edge of the plateau, but has now withdrawn considerably to the south. The old bed of the river is distinctly visible, especially as seen from the high south bank. Old maps show the

river forming a loop along the whole west side of the Inch, as well as flowing close under the east side. In Roman times all the flat ground was probably so swampy as to make access difficult except in midsummer.

The site is private property, belonging to Delvine House, which stands in the extreme northern angle of the plateau; but we obtained leave from Mr. Hogarth, the owner, to go wherever we pleased.

We came to Inchtuthil from Dunkeld, passing through the pretty Spitalfield village, and leaving the entrance of the drive to Delvine House on our right. The steep sides of the plateau are so thickly covered with trees that we should hardly have recognized it as rising ground if we had not been on the look out for it. It merely gives the impression of a thick wood with unusually high trees. A private farm-road on the right leads down to the river, past the east end of the plateau. It is very narrow, and is intended evidently only for farm-traffic, for it was thickly strewn with large rounded stones from the river-bed. After crossing the little stream which borders the north of the plateau, we came suddenly on a bend of the Tay, with a fisherman's cottage standing on the bank. The river here flows through a wide stony bed. A beautiful oak tree spreads its branches out towards the water not far from the cottage, and many stumps

along the river's edge mark the site of large trees cut down during the war.

Following the road by the river westward, we came to the entrance to the private grounds, where rhododendrons in full flower glowed and gleamed in masses of red and white. Here we left the car,

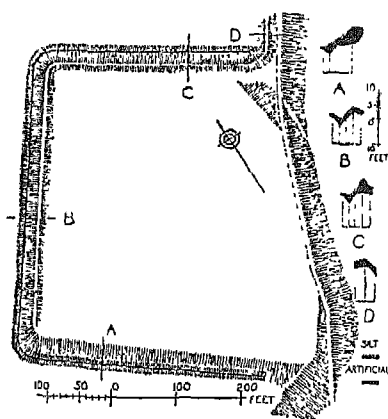


FIG. 18.—Plan of "Redoubt,"
Inchtuthil. (After Ross.)
(From *P.S.A.S.* xxxvi.)

and made inquiries at the gardener's house before going farther. The high mound of the small fort known as "The Redoubt" stood up on our right, thickly covered with trees; but we left that to be examined later, and followed the gardener's wife

as she led us to the Roman baths. She took us through an iron gate and along a garden-path bordered by tall delphiniums of every shade of blue and purple, through a kitchen-garden, and then through an orchard, all lying on the southern slope of the plateau, facing the river. Then a rusty iron gate brought us into a wilderness of nettles,

interspersed with blue borage. Here she left us, pointing to a path visible a short way ahead which would bring us to the baths.

We were now following the steep bank of the plateau. Huge beech trees, with beautiful twisted grey trunks, stood along the edge, and we looked down below them into a dense dark mass of foliage. The husks of last year's nuts crunched under our feet.

The baths soon came in sight, on the right of our path, and considerably below its level. The remains were much overgrown with nettles and long grass, and overhung by wild apple trees and elders, but all the same we could clearly make out the two apses, facing each other, of one of the largest rooms, the extremely well-preserved cold bath, cemented all over, with sides standing 4 feet high, and other traces of walls shown in the plan, some having as many as nine courses of stones still in place. We saw bits of burnt brick scattered about near the stoke-hole. The excavators found one hundred and three hypocaustal pillars of brick, in a more or less complete state, in the apsidal chamber, and some broken pieces of the tile pavement which lay above the hypocausts were discovered ; also fragments of coloured plaster, red, buff, green, and black.

The steps leading down to the cold bath were virtually intact when uncovered, and the large leaden pipe by which the water had escaped still lay within the orifice.

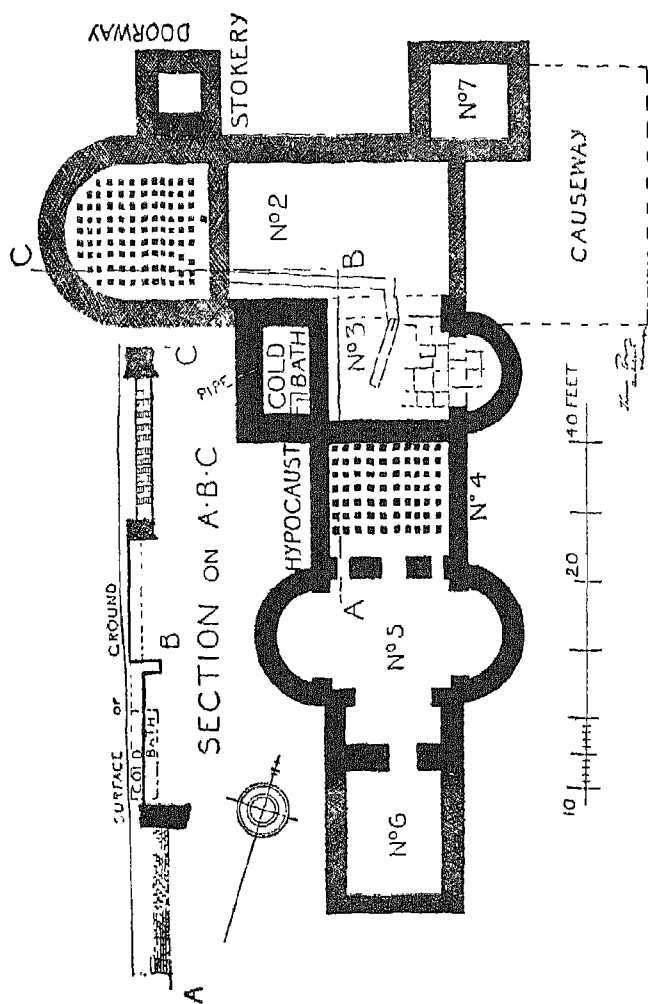


FIG. 19.—Plan of Roman Baths, Inchtuthil. (After Ross.)
(From P.S.A. S. xxxvi.)

From the baths we continued to follow the edge of the plateau, crossing a wide plank bridge over a deep gully, which drains the plateau into a dark mysterious pond at the foot of the bank. Beeches, limes, and hornbeams overshadowed us, and we were still treading on the crisp beech-mast. The centre of the plateau was covered with a huge wheatfield. After a time the path bore to the right, and passed through high green bracken which in places met over our heads. The river could be seen gleaming between the leaves of the trees on the left. Rhododendrons scattered their rosy blossoms recklessly, and tall foxgloves stood in rows, giving harbourage to scores of bees. So we came to the "western vallum," which cuts across the plateau in a north-westerly direction, and is classed by Sir George Macdonald as "doubtfully Roman." Trenches were dug through it by the excavators, but nothing definite was determined. It is a very clearly-marked mound, with twin silver birches standing on its northern end. From its southern end Delvine House can be seen, due north, and more than half a mile away. The path we had now to follow keeps to the left of the western vallum, diverging from it. It is bordered by young oak trees, and barbed-wire fences enclose it on either side, but we found it so overgrown with nettles and tall grass that it is evidently seldom used. It leads to a rough road, required

for agricultural purposes, which curves down the steep north-western bank of the plateau to the low land at the foot. A path running south-westward brought us to the small fort in the extreme south-west angle of the plateau, cut off from the rest of the Inch by five strongly-marked mounds and ditches, running, roughly, north and south. An avenue of twisted box trees runs from east to west across this little peninsula, and the rest of the ground was thickly planted with baby firs, as well as overshadowed by forest trees. The farmhouse of New Inchtuthil stands on the flat ground just below this fort, which is thought to be of native origin, and possibly post-Roman.

Turning north-westward again, we could see the waters of the sinuous Delnie Loch glittering in the sunshine, and white swans floating on its surface. The loch curves round the north-west edge of the plateau. We were glad of the cool breeze which blew refreshingly across the water, for this tree-enclosed plateau can be very airless and oppressive on a hot day. A little summer-house appeared by the path, encircled by great beech trees. Syringa bushes blossomed near by, entwined with trails of honeysuckle, making one mass of radiant, fragrant gold and silver. Magnificent foxgloves gleamed out against the dark background of the trees. The spot attracted us, and we entered the summer-house. It was so neat, we said, like a bird's nest. And as

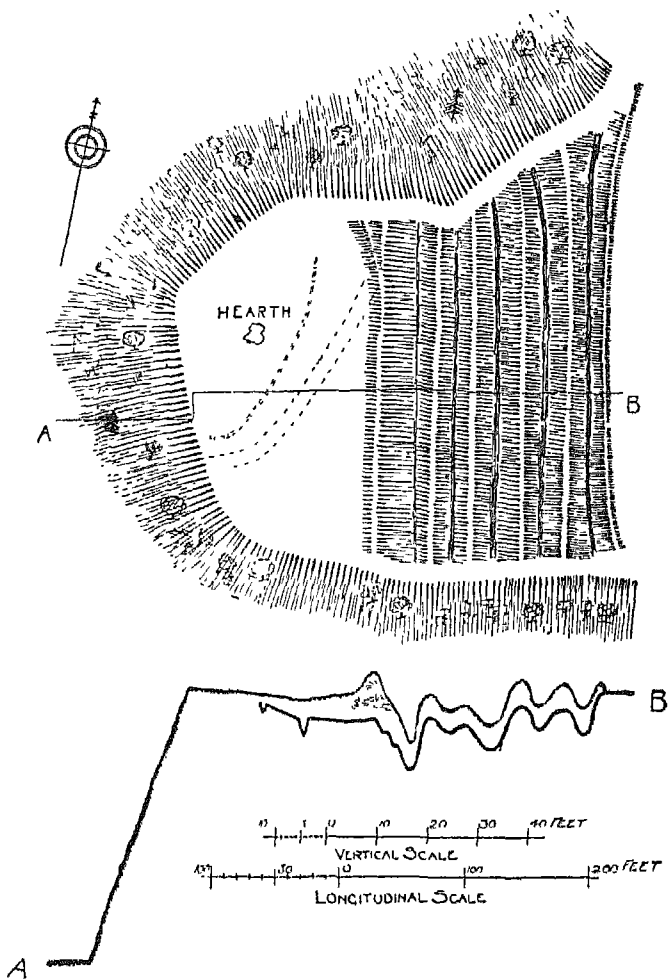


FIG. 20.—Plan of South-Western Fort, Inchtuthil.
(From P.S.A.S. xxxvi.)

we spoke we saw the neatest of neat birds' nests lying on the seat, made of dry grass, fir-tree twigs, and straws, and beautifully lined with clay, as hard and firm as if it had been cardboard, and in as perfect a circle as any mathematician could desire. And then we found under the seat another circle, or more accurately, a sphere: a hedgehog fast asleep, with little dark paws clasped over his little dark nose.

By this time we had come alongside the mounds of the large semi-permanent camp planned by Roy. The southern rampart and the entrance in the middle of it are very well marked; the western, facing Delvine House, is largely destroyed; the eastern is still striking at its northern end. The northern side has been carried away in ancient times by the erosive action of the river. Corn was growing between the *via principalis* and the baths, covering the sites of the ovens and of the stone and wooden buildings shown in the plan.

These buildings are among the most important of the discoveries made during the excavations. The excavators themselves failed to realize their full significance, but in the light of the lessons from Newstead, Sir George Macdonald has drawn from the report very important conclusions. In the paragraphs that follow I quote freely from his article, "The Agricolaan Occupation of North Britain," in vol. ix. of the *Journal of Roman Studies*.

To begin with, the large rectangular enclosure planned by Roy, covering, probably, a little over 50 acres, was clearly constructed as a semi-permanent camp, for it was found that red sandstone blocks, brought from a quarry 2 miles away, had been employed as "foundation" or "buttress" to the ramparts. This would not have been necessary for a camp intended to be used only for a night or two on the march. Within the camp were found fragments of querns and pottery, many iron nails, and a made road extending from the east gate to the west; also along the line of this road many trenches indicating the foundations of timber buildings. All this goes to show that the camp "represents the winter quarters of a small army, from seven to ten thousand strong."

A special study of all the pottery found at Inchtuthil was made by Mr. James Curle, and it brought out the important fact that the whole of the fragments were early. There is little doubt then that it was Agricola's army that first occupied the site, prior to the famous battle of Mount Graupius.

It may be well to quote here from the *Agricola* of Tacitus the actual passages bearing on this subject. In about the year 83 the great general, we are told, full of grief at the loss of his infant son, turned for comfort to fighting. "Accordingly he sent forward the fleet to make descents on various places, and to spread a general and vague panic ;

and then, with his army in light marching order, and strengthened by the best of the British soldiers—men tried through long years of peace—he advanced to Mount Graupius, of which the enemy was already in occupation.”

When the battle was won, “since the war could not take a wider range at the end of summer, he led back his troops to the territory of the Boresti. From there he took hostages, and he gave orders to the commander of his fleet to circumnavigate Britain. . . . He himself marched slowly in order that the very leisureliness of his passage might strike terror into the hearts of these new tribes, until he lodged his infantry and cavalry in their winter quarters. Simultaneously the fleet, with weather and prestige alike propitious, gained the harbour of Trucculum, whence it had started its coasting voyage along the whole length of the adjacent shore, and to which it had now returned ” (the *Agricola* of Tacitus : translated by M. Hutton).

“The semi-permanent character of Inchtuthil proves that, while it might have been the advanced base from which the mobile column set out, or possibly that to which it returned, it could not have played any part whatsoever in the swift strategy that led up to the actual encounter. Mons Graupius must have lain some distance farther north ” (Sir George Macdonald).

The only coin found on the site was a second brass

of Domitian, which, after a minute examination, Sir George Macdonald dates as not earlier than A.D. 84, and probably not earlier than 86 ; pointing thus to the continued occupation of the site after Agricola's recall in 84. A similar coin was found at Dealgin Ross, within the area of the permanent fort.

Still more important evidence is deduced, in this article, from the scattered traces of buildings and from the previously unexplained "line of ditch" shown in Fig. 20. These "stone" and "wooden" buildings bear every resemblance in plan to the ordinary barrack-buildings of a Roman fort, but differences of alignment show that they cannot belong to the same fort as the bath-house, nor to the same fort as each other, nor to the large camp. This at once suggests the existence of *two* permanent forts posterior to the large camp, the first of which would have contained wooden buildings, and the second, stone.

The "line of ditch" Sir George Macdonald takes to be the enclosing ditch of the annexe of yet a third permanent fort, to which the bath-house would have belonged. If so, this fort itself has been carried away by the erosive action of the river, which has encroached on the south and east as well as on the north.

Again, with regard to this stone bath-house, Sir George Macdonald points out that the subsidence and consequent repair during Roman times of

one wall may safely be taken to indicate the existence beneath it of a pit or a filled-in ditch belonging

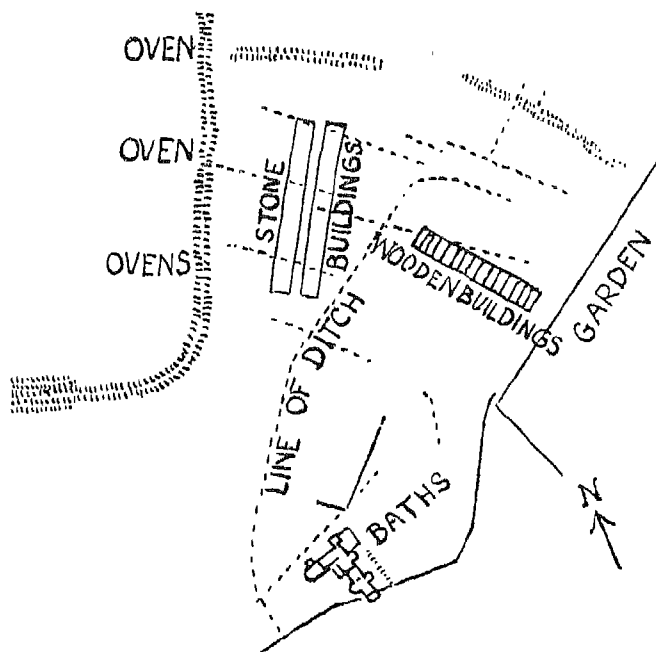


FIG. 21.—Plan of Stone and Wooden Barrack-Buildings,
Inchtuthil.

(From *P.S.A.S.*, xxxvi.)

to a previous occupation. This has almost invariably been proved to be the cause of such a subsidence where investigation has been possible; and the occupation of the bath-house for a con-

siderable number of years may also be assumed from the incident.

Another evidence of reoccupation comes from four ovens found in the ditch of the semi-permanent camp. Such ovens have been found elsewhere in a Roman rampart (at Birrens, for example), but always with their mouths turned *inside*. These with their mouths turned outside can only have been made after the camp had been abandoned.

I cannot attempt to give all Sir George Macdonald's close reasoning, but only to sum up his conclusions, which are entirely in favour of there *having been*, as at Newstead, a *prolonged occupation* during the Agricolan period, with probably two (if not more) complete reconstructions of the Agricolan fort. One of the most characteristic pieces of early Samian ware came from the bath-house, which we have seen to belong to a secondary occupation. The whole of the evidence tends to confirm that obtained from Camelon and Ardoch, of a lengthy Agricolan occupation, maintained or renewed in spite of violent assaults by native forces.

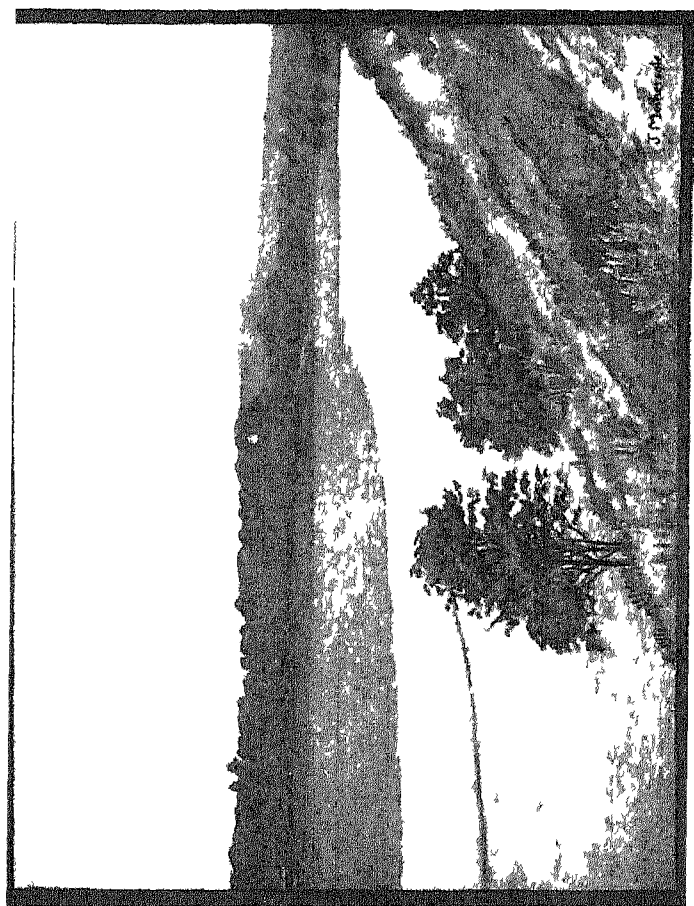
A bath-house was discovered on this site during the eighteenth century, said to be "in the plowed grounds and covered with corn" in 1757. Pennant writes of his visit in 1772: "To the west of this station, about thirty years ago, were discovered the vestiges of a large building, the whole ground

being filled with fragments of brick and mortar. A rectangular hollow made of brick is still entire : it is about 10 or 12 feet long, 3 or 4 feet wide, and 5 or 6 feet deep." Roy, who planned the fortifications in 1755, makes no allusion to it. It could not possibly be identical with the bath-house opened in 1901, for, as Sir George Macdonald writes sadly : " The ruins of the latter were in wonderful preservation when they were uncovered. The melancholy spectacle of desolation and decay which they present to-day enables us to judge what Pennant must have seen, after thirty years of weathering, in 1772."

The position of this second bath-house remains a matter of conjecture. If really to the west of the large camp, it would indicate " yet another occupation of the plateau, assignable perhaps to the Antonine age."

A tumulus known as the " Women's Knowe " is to be seen about 50 yards east of the eastern rampart of the large camp. This was opened in 1901, and in the centre was found a skeleton at full length in a stone cist, representing probably a post-Roman burial.

The iron objects found on the site included no weapons nor fragments of weapons, and there was very little bronze of any kind. One can hardly help wondering whether there are yet treasures hidden away in rubbish-pits, such as were found so plentifully at Newstead.



The sketch of Inchtuthil (Plate 2) is taken from the high south bank of the Tay, from which the tree-surrounded plateau can be seen across the river. We came to that spot on a lovely summer's day, when the air was full of the fragrance of the hay and of the almond-scented broom which blossomed by the roadside. Very high haycocks on wooden frames stood in the fields, and honeysuckle and wild roses festooned the hedges. The distant hills showed faintly through a blue haze. After following a rough farm-road to Kerrock, on the south side of the river, we left the car in the grass-grown farmyard, and walked through cornfields to the river-bank. The old bed of the river, where it had flowed close under the plateau, was very clearly discernible from here. The woman at the farmhouse told us that it was a desolate place to live in, but that she and her husband could not get any other house. He was a gardener in Perth, and had to walk 3 miles to Murthly Station every day and then take the train. It seemed a pleasant enough spot to us until she pointed out its inconveniences. A farmhouse which is no longer used as a farmhouse is likely to find itself far from food supplies. Quiet it certainly was. As we slipped away in the car we passed close to a plover so busily engaged in picking a frog out of a burn that he did not trouble to move out of our way. Farther on, within a foot of our wheels, a

goldfinch swayed gracefully on a tall dock blossom, and seemed equally regardless. Birds and flowers flourish in great variety in the whole neighbourhood. We found oyster-catchers busy rearing their young on the low-lying ground, just under the fort, making anxious cries of warning if they thought we were coming too near. The old bed of the river is now flat marshy land full of buttercups and starry blue forget-me-nots, in amongst which moved the red legs and picturesque black and white plumage of the parent-birds. The young ones were still very nondescript in colour. The eggs in form and colour are wonderfully like the stones of the river-bed amongst which they are laid, and one may pass close by them many times without seeing what they are.

I asked at the fisherman's cottage whether I could get taken in for the night later on, and I received a favourable answer from his daughter; but when I actually wanted to come, she had a houseful, so she advised me to go to "The Aird," otherwise Nether Aird Farm. The old fisherman was sitting outside sunning himself. He showed me in a glass case a great salmon weighing 45 lb. which he had caught in the Tay a quarter of a century ago. He had lived fifty years in this cottage, and they often found themselves isolated by high floods in the winter, he said.

At the Aird, Mrs. Souttar raised only one objection

to taking me, and that was the difficulty of obtaining "butcher's meat." I soon reassured her on that point. Then she asked if I would mind a chaff-bed, but I was delighted to try it, for it reminded me of the old song sung in some parts of Northumberland on the occasion of the "Kirn Supper" or harvest-home :

" The best bed, the feather bed,
The best bed ov a',
The best bed i' wor hoose
Is o' clean pea straw ! "

The farmhouse was built in 1773, and has very old-fashioned ovens on either side of the kitchen fireplace. As I entered the garden I saw a little fair-haired girl, about four years old, sitting on an inverted basket. Her mother said, "Get up, Jean," and to my astonishment when she obeyed a large buff hen walked out.

The fisherman's grandson took me across the river in the evening. The current could be traced by a speckled winding pathway of white foam on the dark water which reflected heavy clouds. I sat sketching amidst the foxgloves on the top of the steep sandy bank, with a noisy crowd of sand-martins occupying tiers of flats beneath me, till at length the light failed. Then I hallooed for the boat to come back. This time a visitor from town brought it, a rather older boy, who said politely in

response to my thanks : " I assure you this sort of thing is a pure pleasure to me."

Then I retired to my chaff-bed while it was hardly yet dark, with plovers still wailing round the house, and I dropped to sleep to the plaintive sound of a flute which some one was practising out of doors under the starry sky.

CHAPTER XIII

LYNE

HERE, 4 miles west of Peebles, the Romans have chosen a piece of high ground, round two sides of which the river Lyne flows, and on it they have built a permanent fort of the usual kind, but with special adaptations to the site. The plateau is raised 100 feet above the river, and is separated from it by a river-flat never more than 100 yards wide. On the far side of the river from the fort, the hills rise at once very steeply, and to a much greater height than the level of the fort itself, but not near enough to offer danger from primitive missiles. The main road from Melrose through Peebles to Biggar and Lanark runs just below the steep bank on which the fort stands, separating it from the river.

Coming by car from Lanark, we crossed the picturesque single-arched stone bridge over the Lyne Water, at the end of which the road makes a sudden right-angled turn southward in order to sweep round the plateau on which the fort stands. We are here in the midst of the bare Peeblesshire hills, which have a beauty and a character all their

own. They are not grand or rugged, but their rounded sides take delightful forms, and give endless opportunities for a varied play of light, shadow, and local colour. As so often happens, the very simplicity of the material with which we have to deal leaves room for the discovery of new beauties. When we were there, after some weeks of dry weather, these hills were a lovely golden colour from the short burnt grass, with patches of the fresh green of young bracken here and there. The very hayfields on their lower slopes had taken on the colour of ripe corn.

We had been told that the best way to the fort was through the manse garden, so we called there to ask leave to go through. A momentary forgetfulness led me to ask for the "Rector," but the little maid took it calmly, merely replying emphatically, "The *Meenister* is away, but ye'll be wantin' to see the Roman camp?" And she pointed out the way. It led through the churchyard, where the tiny church stands raised on a little grassy mound. It is one of the smallest churches in Scotland, and boasts a twelfth-century foundation. A low detached hill covered with fir trees rises between the fort and the church. This is marked H in the plan (Fig. 22), which gives a clearer idea of the situation of the fort than any description can do. It will be seen how marshes (D) defended it on the north and north-east, and

the steep sides of the plateau on the south and west. The only level approaches were by the narrow

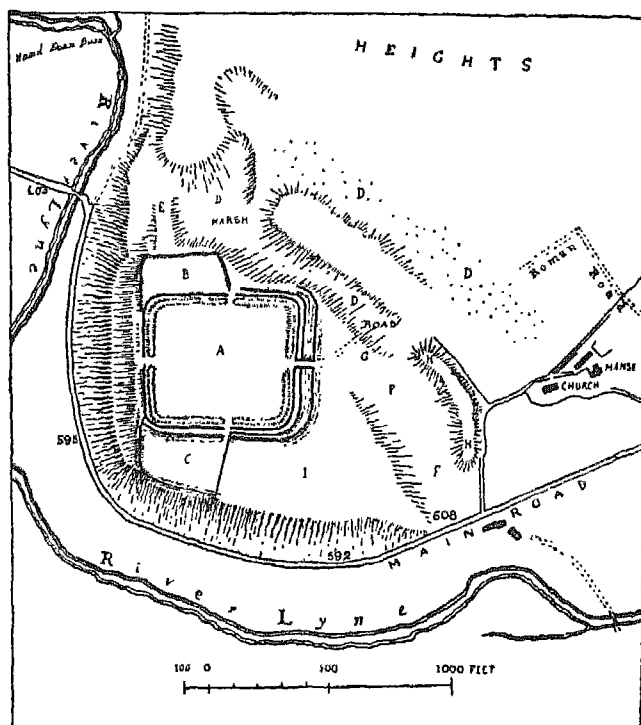


FIG. 22.—Lyne : Adaptation of the Fortifications to the Site.
(After Ross.)

(From *P.S.A.S.* xxxv.)

spaces at E and G. F represents a hollow. Northern and southern annexes (B and C), enclosed by ditches, occupied most of the level ground to the north and

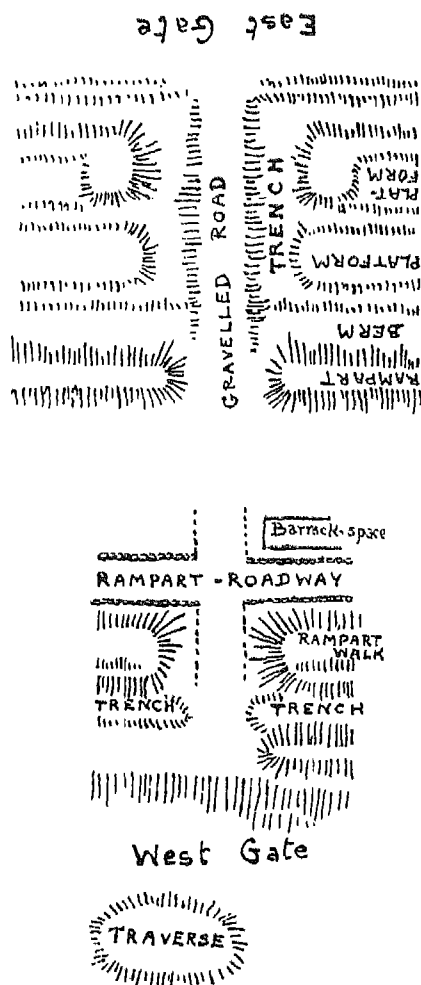


FIG. 23.—East and West Entrances, Lyne.

Scale: 75 feet to the inch.
(From P.S.A.S. xxxv.)

south of the main fort. The defences of the main fort (as also of the annexes) have been much levelled

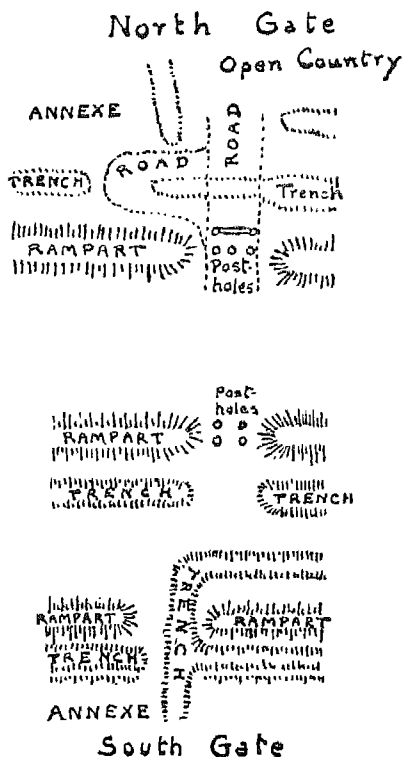


FIG. 24.—North and South Entrances, Lyne.

Scale: 75 feet to the inch.

(From *P.S.A.S.* xxxv.)

by ploughing, but the excavations of 1900, carried out by the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland,

showed that there had been a main earthen rampart, surrounded by either one, two, or three V-shaped ditches, according to the demands of the situation. These ditches are shown as black lines in Fig. 23.

There were four entrances, one in the middle of each face. The southern one opened only into the south annexe, access to which from outside must have been by a bridge over the surrounding ditch. The four entrances were all different in character from each other, as shown in the plans, Figs. 23 and 24. In the case of the northern and southern entrances there had evidently been wooden gates or barricades where the main rampart was crossed. This was indicated by post-holes and a trench for a beam. Nothing similar was found at the east and west gates. The latter was guarded by a traverse or mound thrown across at the top of the steep slope.

The main rampart consisted of layers of clay and black mould, underneath which were stone kerbs, 4 feet wide and 24 feet apart, roughly built.

Of the inner buildings, it was found that only four, along the line of the *via principalis*, had been of stone. These would have included, judging from other plans, the headquarters building with its five small chambers at the back, two granaries, and probably the commandant's house. One of the granaries was evidently the building marked *e* in the plan (Fig. 25), but where we should expect

to find the other the excavators traced a much larger building, buttressed, however, like a granary on the south side. The building *c* was presumably the headquarters, but none of the characteristic subdivisions were found. The southernmost building *f* enclosed a central court, in the middle of which

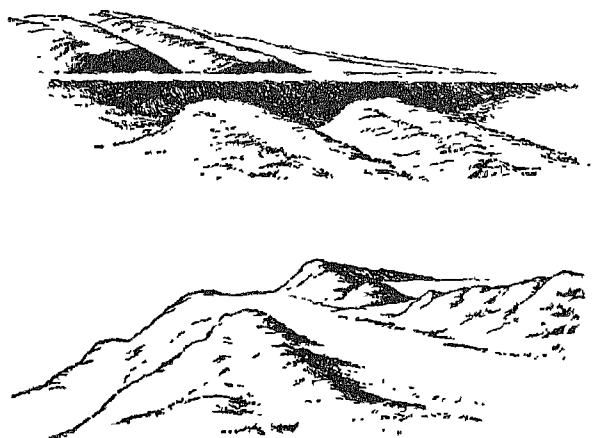


FIG. 26.—The upper view shows the East Entrance to Lyne Fort ; the lower, the Western Ramparts.

(From *P.S.A.S.* xxxv)

was a very remarkable stone-lined pit. It was 8 feet 8 inches long, $6\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide at the top, and 9 to 10 feet deep, "constructed of excellent coursed red sandstone masonry, 18 inches thick, and with no trace of cement." The walls sloped inwards to the bottom, which was formed of flagstones and covered with clay to a depth of 10 inches. An iron

spear-head and several varieties of second-century pottery were found in it.

Hardly one stone of these buildings was left upon another, but their foundations were generally easily traceable. East and west of them had evidently stood a series of long, narrow barrack-buildings, built of wood.

In the middle of the last century the remains of Roman cooking utensils in brown earthenware were found "at a spot about thirty feet beyond the outer vallum on the north," and were placed in the Museum at Peebles. Unfortunately they were not labelled, and were thrown away some years ago with a quantity of other unmarked pottery.

The traditional name of the mounds at Lyne is "Randal's Walls," and it was not quite certain that they were of Roman origin until the excavations of 1900. In Gibson's edition of Camden's *Britannia* (1696) we find the first definite reference to the site :

"A place called Randal's Trenches seems to have been a Roman Camp ; and there is a causey leads from it for half a mile together to the town of Lyne."

In Barbour's *Bruce* (1375-76) mention is made of "ane house on the watir of Lyne " where Douglas came and found " Thomas Randol of great renoun," and other nobles, with a strong force prepared to

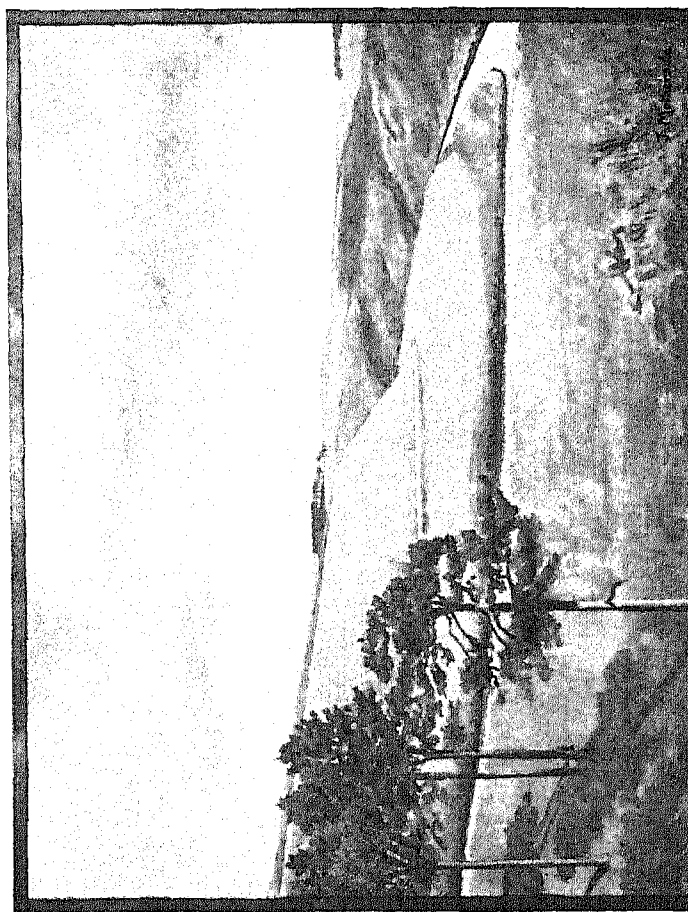
attack him. This may be the historical foundation behind the name of Randal's Walls, but there is no evidence to prove that the "house on the watir of Lyne" stood on the site of the Roman fort, nor even in its immediate neighbourhood.

A Roman road ran in a north-easterly direction from the east gate, and was traced by trenching. It is referred to as a "causey" by Gibson, as quoted above, and Horsley mentions "a visible military way near Lyne Kirk." The writer of the Old Statistical Account in 1794 says :

"The road leading to the camp is still visible and runs through the present glebe." There traces of it were found by the excavators, behind the church and manse, as shown in the plan (Fig. 22). It was not paved, but made of hard compacted gravel.

As to the purpose of the fort, and its date, Sir George Macdonald writes :

"Its position is most easily understood if it be regarded as the solitary survivor of a chain of posts, whose purpose was to maintain cross-country communication through the hills between the two trunk-routes from south to north. The excavations of 1900 produced but few relics, and among these there was none for which a second-century date would have been inappropriate. The coins, which were only two in number, were no exception. They were of Titus and of Trajan."



Thus, so far as the evidence goes, Lyne is not earlier than Birrens, which appears to have had its origin at the time of the building of Hadrian's Wall, and to have been included in that frontier scheme.

CHAPTER XIV

CARSTAIRS AND CLEGHORN

THESE two Lanarkshire sites, surveyed by Roy, seem to indicate the line of the western route from Hadrian's Wall to the Wall of Antonine. CARSTAIRS was evidently a permanent fort, while Cleghorn, by its size and its plan, comes within the class of large temporary camps for an army on the march. They can both be visited easily from Carstairs Junction if we are travelling by train.

There is an inn just opposite the railway station, so I inquired of the pleasant pink-capped young hostess as to the way I should go for the Carstairs fort. After considering a moment, she said that the quickest way was to go through the grounds of Carstairs House, by a gateway almost next door to the inn, but that she would advise my going first to Carstairs village, a mile away, and calling on the ex-factor of the estate, Mr. Milne, who would know all about it. The property had been recently sold, and the grounds were private. So I journeyed north—although the fort lay to the south—crossing the railway and then following alongside it towards

Carstairs village. As I turned the bend of the road, I saw thick clouds of smoke, and the pungent smell of burning wood filled the air. Great beams, with flames mounting high, were burning themselves out in the middle of the road in front of me, while men were busily employed in hacking down other portions of a flaming fence and flinging them into the road. This high wooden fence, formed of old sleepers from the line, is necessary in winter to keep the snowdrifts off the track, but in hot, dry weather, such as we were having, it may easily catch fire from a spark. The sun was shining brightly, and a delicious breeze was blowing, which helped to fan the flames.

The first glimpse I had of the village was of brown-plush thatched roofs, with golden grass growing on them, peeping over the brow of the hill. Then tombstones came into view, for the churchyard lay between me and the cottages, and beyond the church a very dusty village green was scattered with children on holiday.

I was fortunate in finding both the factor and his son at home, and they showed me 6-inch maps of the estate and gave me much helpful information, even supplying tracing-cloth for me to trace the plans. Mr. Milne had accompanied Sir George Macdonald over both sites, Carstairs and Cleghorn, and he told me they had found the mounds of the latter practically indiscernible.

Now fully equipped, I walked on towards Ravenstruther, a charming little village, all low white-washed cottages with thatched roofs. Here were pale pink Canterbury bells standing up against the pure white of the walls, blue and crimson nemesia in front, and deep orange mimulus in front of that. Another cottage had a standard wild rose on a 6-foot stem, its blossoms peering in at the little bedroom window, and dark red mimulus all round its foot. An old woman in blue cotton was sitting crocheting on the doorstep between the Canterbury bells. From Ravenstruther a track across the fields brought me to Corbiehall Farm (sometimes called Corbyhill), where a kindly farm-hand pointed out the remains of the Carstairs fort close by. He also told me that I could get back to Carstairs Junction without retracing my steps, by following the road past The Mains. I took the opportunity of asking him the meaning of the word "Mains," which I had so often come across in Scotland, and he replied that it belonged properly to a home-farm on a big estate. He added that Carstairs House was being turned into a Roman Catholic home for defective children, but that he did not think the owners would mind my going through the grounds and past the farm.

This is the only site of a permanent fort on the western road north of Birrens that has yet been identified. It has been known in the past as Castle-

dykes, or Battledykes, and it seems to have covered about 7 acres. Mr. Milne told me he had dug a trench running north and south across the site and had found an ash-heap with some broken pottery.

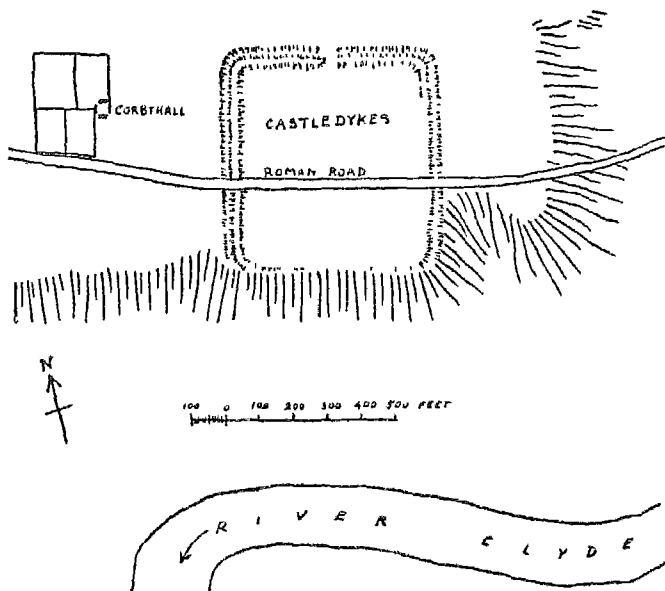


FIG. 27.—Plan of Castledykes, Carstairs. (After Roy.)
(The Clyde is shown much too near the fort.)

This is evidently what Sir George Macdonald refers to in the 1918 volume of the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* :

“ In 1916 a hole dug at my suggestion at a selected spot within the enclosure produced, at a depth of

3 or 4 feet, fragments of pottery which were recognized by Mr. A. O. Curle and myself as indubitably Roman."

There has never been any systematic excavation here.

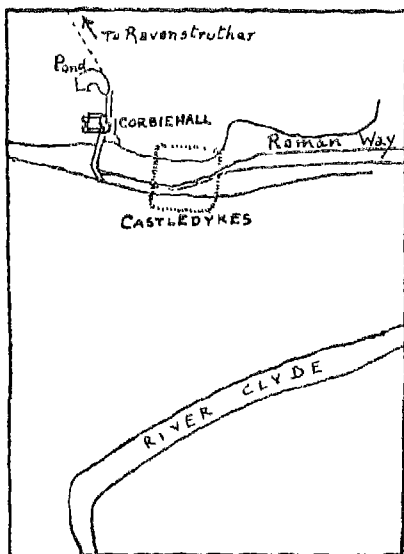


FIG. 28.—Plan of Castledykes, Carstairs.

Scale: 1500 feet to the inch.

The ramparts of the fort are very clearly seen to the south-east of the farmhouse, on high ground above the river Clyde. A path runs eastward through a plantation of oaks, and cuts right through the fort. The eastern mound is now much the most striking and conspicuous, and next to that

the western. The pathway does not appear to represent the original road through the fort, but Mr. Milne told me that the grass road running eastward from the rampart through the grounds of Carstairs House to the Mausoleum is said to mark the beginning of the Roman road from Carstairs

to Lyne. The Romans have as usual chosen a beautiful spot. It overlooks the Clyde, which twists serpent-like through the wide valley below. Beyond the river, Tinto rises majestically, its dignity not diminished at the time of my visit by the feathery clouds, which rested lightly like a powder-puff on its "tap" and veiled the cairn from sight. The nearer hills, Carmichael, Cairnaryfe, and Swaites, their lower slopes clothed with fields of corn, and scattered with trees, contrasted with the flat, green, treeless, and cow-besprinkled pastures on either side of the river.

Following the "Roman road," which is a wide and very straight grass walk between high oaks and beeches, I came past Carstairs House, where workmen were busy with alterations, and then turned into the gravel drive as far as the Mains. Here I met three Sisters of Mercy, who directed me through plantations to the gate which would bring me out near the inn.

In Gough's *Camden* we read of Carstairs: "At this place and neighbourhood many Roman bricks and coins have been dug up at different periods. Among the latter, which I have seen, are those of Nero, Trajan, the Empress Faustina, and Germanicus."

Roy tells us in his *Military Antiquities* that "near the kirk of Carstairs some remains of a bath and other antiquities have been found." The location

of this bath has given rise to much discussion, for the church is nearly a mile away from the fort site, and we can hardly believe that the Romans would have placed the baths at such a distance.

Sir George Macdonald judges that "near the kirk" must not be taken too literally. If the bath belonged to the Castledykes fort, it would naturally lie in an annexe beyond the ramparts, and may have merely lain in the direction of Carstairs Church.

On the other hand, not many years ago the late minister of Carstairs, Mr. Sharpe, showed Mr. Macallum Scott a depression in the grass near the manse, saying :

"It was there or thereabouts that the remains of the bath mentioned by Roy were found." But he does not appear to have stated his authority.

Richard Pococke, Bishop of Meath, the noted traveller, who visited Carstairs in 1760, does not mention the bath. He writes :

"I rid [from Lanark] four measured miles to Carstairs, a large village. To the East of the village, near the Church, are remains of the ancient town supposed to be Colania [of Ptolemy]. It is near a rivulet which is to the East of it, and was about 100 yards broad from East to West, and 200 long, the parsonage house being very near the North wall. . . . They have found pieces of iron, one like a pick-axe, another like a broad knife, and some little thin pieces of lead, a stone trough, a stone like a console

with two ornaments in front like a small pillar and base crowned with a *fleur-de-lis*, and another which appeared like a Gothic ornament of a head, but they said it was taken out of the old town, and as the cap was remarkable, a drawing was taken of it. . . . About a mile nearer Lanark, at a village [Ravenstruther], I saw signs of what I took to be large irregular intrenchments."

As recently as 1669 the village was quite an important centre, and much larger than it is now. "The old parish church of St. Mary," which then still stood, must have been a very fine building. A beautiful groined springer stone, part of an octagonal pillar, now in the churchyard, turned upside-down and serving as the pedestal for a sundial of 1797, gives a clue to the character of the old church. Another remnant of past glories is the sculptured head of an angel, now embedded in the south wall of the present church, close under the roof, and still beautiful in spite of a broken nose.

When I visited the church, the sexton stopped mowing the graves to show me sculptured stones of great interest which are kept inside, including one of a baby Eve, with the serpent twisting round a laden apple tree and holding out to her one apple in its mouth. Another stone, nearly 6 feet high, was carved with a rough crucifix and had a border of ancient lettering, which I believe has never been deciphered. Crucifixion stones are very rare in

Scotland. This one was dug up by a grave-digger, who broke it in three pieces in order to get it out more easily. There was nothing Roman to be seen anywhere.

CLEGHORN now remained to be visited. The site is reached by turning to the north at Cleghorn Station, along the Edinburgh road. After passing one turning to the left, "Camp Wood" borders the road, where the north-west angle of the camp is marked in the 1898 Ordnance Survey Map as "Earthwork."

Roy's description is as follows: "On the north side of the river Mousse, between Cleghorn and Stobbslee, and on the east side of the Roman way, we meet with another temporary camp, of the same dimensions with those already described (*i.e.* about 50 acres). Almost the whole contour of the camp can be traced; and a considerable part of the rampart, with three out of six gates, remain very entire."

In his *Caledonia Romana* (1852) Robert Stuart tells us that this was commonly known in the neighbourhood by the name of "Agricola's Camp." He says: "Looking along its site at a time when the crops have not yet appeared above the surface, the line of its ditches can be distinguished in several places, owing to the earth with which they have been filled becoming much sooner dry."

station called Castledykes, beautifully situated on the bank above the Clyde; and leaving Renstruther on the right, proceeds to Cleghornmill, where it has passed the river Mouss. Thence it has led through the enclosure of Cleghorn, leaving Agricola's camp on the right."

He takes it on to a place called "Roman Stands," by Motherwell to Orbiston, and makes it join the west end of the Wall of Antonine "between Damureburn [Duntocher Burn] and Old Kilpatrick"; where, he says, "some remains of it may be discerned even at this day."

When in 1764 General Roy discovered the temporary Roman camp at Cleghorn, he requested his friend "Mr. Commissioner Clerk" to search for similar camps in Annandale. As a result of such search, what appeared to be the remains of two similar camps were lighted on, and Roy visited them later, and sketched them for his famous work. These were on Torwood Moor, near Lockerbie, and at Tassiesholm, 14 miles north of Lockerbie. If Roman, they merely serve to mark a stage in the advance of an army marching northwards, and do not prove that there was a permanent Roman road in this direction. The vestiges at Tassiesholm were very slight indeed even in Roy's day, and at Torwood Moor nothing is now to be seen on the surface.

I decided to make Lockerbie my centre for visit-

ing Eskdale and Annandale, with the Roman sites of Gilnockie, Raeburnfoot, Birrens, and Burnswark.

It is a lovely run southwards from Carstairs to Lockerbie, first up the Clyde valley through Symington, and then down Annandale from Moffat. The Annan rises just above the famous Devil's Beef-Tub, that great rounded depression in the hills with only one possible entrance, through which the cattle-raiders drove the herds they had stolen. Our road twists in and out mid a varied succession of hills, near and distant, beautiful in the season of heather and bracken, but perhaps even more beautiful on a sunny winter's day when they are powdered with just enough snow to make them look ethereal, and not enough to disguise their forms.

In 1924 Mr. O. G. S. Crawford traced the traditional Roman road through Annandale, all the way between the Beef-Tub and Birrens. He found it to be indubitably of Roman origin, and to have an average width, including spread, of 24 feet.

Mr. Crawford also examined the Little Clyde earthwork (in which Dr. Christison had failed to find any proof of Roman origin), and found it to be a rectangular camp, measuring 1480 feet by 980 feet, with two entrances in one of the long sides, each covered by a straight traverse.

CHAPTER XV

GILNOCKIE

THE two Roman sites which have been discovered in the valley of the Esk seem to point to efforts on the part of the Romans to overawe the native tribes. The activity of these tribes is evident from the many impressive traces they have left, in the hill-forts which overlook the valley.

Or it may be that these sites mark the beginning of a western Roman road to the Tweed valley and the fort at Lyne. One of them—GILNOCKIE—was a large temporary camp for an army on the march; the other—Raeburnfoot—was a stone-built permanent fort.

In order to visit these sites as well as Birrens and Burnswark, I took up my quarters in the little town of Lockerbie, which is in no way remarkable itself, but makes a good centre for seeing Annandale, Eskdale, and much beautiful country. The days of its famous lamb-fairs are long past, and Lamb Hill, where these were held, has been turned into a public park with a nine-hole golf-course.

I tried at Lockerbie to hire a car to take me to

Raeburnfoot in Eskdale, for I had seen in the map that there was a cross-road from one valley to the other, but the car-owner would not hear of allowing his car to travel such a rough road. Then I found that a mail-bus left Langholm Post Office for Eskdalemuir every morning at 9.40, and that a train from Lockerbie at twenty minutes to seven would bring me to Langholm in easy time to catch that bus. So I slipped out one day before the house was stirring. I changed at Carlisle, but I did not know there was another change at Riddings Junction; consequently I was carried too far, missed the connection, and finally missed the bus. But it was just as well, for the day soon turned out wet, and I should have seen nothing at all of the Esk valley.

Langholm is beautifully situated, at the point where the Ewes and the Wauchope join the Esk. Above the little town on the east rises Whita Hill, making, with its monument, a conspicuous landmark for many miles round.

I spent the wet morning in trying to find out more about the Roman sites. Inquiring at a bookseller's, I was told that the Rev. George Orr at North Manse was the best local authority on archæology, so to him I made my way. Fortunately he was at home, and he very kindly took me to a subscription library, and arranged with the librarian to let me read Hyslop's *Langholm as it Was* for as

long as I pleased. Thus I learnt roughly the whereabouts of the Gilnockie site, and saw the plan. Dr. Orr told me that a Roman road can be traced near the farms of Calfield and The Becks, a short distance west of Langholm. In the Ordnance Map this road is shown keeping to rather high ground above the Wauchope Water, and making towards Birrens.

In *Langholm as it Was*, Mr. Hyslop refers to Roman masonry built into the north abutment of the bridge over the Wauchope at Auld Caul, but I did not get to see this.

The Gilnockie fort is only 3 miles south of Langholm, so when the rain stopped in the afternoon I was able to take a bus in that direction. The conductor had never so much as heard of the fort, and I did not know myself where I ought to be set down, but a farmer in the bus who overheard my question pointed out a rough road through a wood which he said I must follow. After ploughing my way through heavy mud and deep puddles beside a swollen stream, I finally came out of the wood to the back entrance of a farmhouse. Here I decided to ask my way again. The door was opened by the mistress of the house, who persisted in inviting my muddy shoes to "step into the drawing-room" while she fetched her uncle, who knew about "that sort of thing" better than she did herself. When the uncle appeared he offered to come with me to

start me on the right road. With him I retraced my steps to the road where the bus had dropped me. As we stood on Hollows Bridge, which here crosses the Esk, my guide pointed out, close to the river, high mounds which marked where Johnnie Armstrong's stables had once stood. Gilnockie Tower (or, more correctly, Hollows Tower), a peel on the other side of the river, was supposed to mark the site of his stronghold, but, as my guide said, it could never have been big enough for this famous raider of the Debatable Land. The Armstrongs made it their boast that they had been the destruction of fifty-two parish churches in Scotland besides what they had done in England! Johnnie Armstrong and his comrades were taken, it is said, by James v., in 1529, and hanged on trees at Teviothead.

I was soon on the right road for the fort, a narrow lane, which brought me out near Gilnockie School. I called there for further instructions, and the schoolmaster's son, a boy of eleven or twelve, who came to the door, offered to take me right there. He told me his name was "Hunnum," which sounded delightfully Roman, but I found out it was spelt "Hounam," like the place. The fort is a very few minutes' walk from the school, and is immediately behind the farm cottages of New Woodhead. In plan it is a large rectangular oblong, with rounded angles, occupying apparently about 25 acres. It is

surrounded by an earthen rampart about 20 to 30 feet broad at the base, and outside the rampart is a ditch.

Along the north-east end the defences are traceable, though much ploughed down. The south-east side shows very clearly in the meadow, including one entrance and the traverse thrown across. Then it enters a larch plantation which was so thick as to be quite impenetrable without a hatchet.

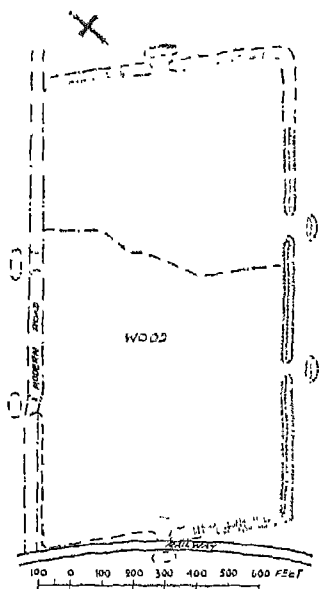


FIG. 30.—Plan of Gilnockie Camp.

With the sanction of the Controller of H.M. Stationery Office, reproduced from *The Inventory of Historical Monuments (Dumfriesshire)*.

The writer in the *Inventory of Historical Monuments* says cheerfully of this rampart (in 1912): "Through a young plantation and an old wood it can be followed *with ease*," but I found both

young plantation and old wood had become so dense and overgrown since then that there was certainly no "ease" about it. The railway cuts off most of the south-west side, and on the north-west a modern road, ditch, and hedge seems to occupy more or

less the position of the rampart. Excavation is needed to verify the plan.

There is a fine view from the camp, right away to the hills of Galloway and Cumberland beyond the Solway Firth, and northwards to the rolling uplands through which the Esk, the Ewes Water, and the Liddel Water cut their way.

With some difficulty I followed the south-east rampart down to the railway, through the "old wood," and crossed the line with the idea of getting down to the road to catch the only bus back. But after crossing ditches and squeezing through hedges I found the river flowing between me and the road, and no way of getting across, so I had to turn back—having missed the bus—and to make for Gilnockie Station. There was no train for nearly two hours. The little platform was in the full glare of the July sun, and did not offer a particle of shade. The waiting-room was hot to suffocation. But there was one redeeming feature about the place, and that was the flowers.

Such flowers! They glowed like jewels in every available spot. They put forth such a wealth of blossoms that they did not seem to spring from any soil. They clothed that bare little station, and made it alive with joyous colour. The station-master saw me admiring his nemesias, begonias, and antirrhinums, and he came forward to talk to me. I said, "How ever do you make them grow

like this ? ” His eyes shone with pleasure as he answered : “ Many people ask me that, and I always say, ‘ Why, I LOIKE them. It’s an honest thing, is a flower—if you do well by it, it will do well by you ! ’ ”

He did not really speak very broadly, but in no other way than by a broad spelling can I convey the very special emphasis he laid on “ loike.” When I sat down on a bench to write, he hinted, “ There’s a table in the inner waiting-room.” I said, “ Thank you, I prefer the open air ” ; but, seeing a trace of disappointment on his face, I presently went and opened the door, and there in the middle of the table was the most lovely double white begonia that I have ever seen. He evidently felt it was a triumph, but he smiled modestly when I praised it, as any artist might do. We had some more talk about flowers, and, when at last the train came in, I had forgotten I was waiting for it, so happily had the flowers beguiled the delay.

CHAPTER XVI

RAEBURNFOOT

THE next day I took the post-bus from Langholm to Raeburnfoot, and found myself in sole possession of the inside, but for two mail-bags—corpulent columns of canvas—and a number of baskets and bundles. My fellow-passengers lurched over towards me from every direction as we started off gaily along the street of the little town. I had applied for the seat in front next the driver, but was told that it had been promised to a lady who was shortly to be picked up, and who could not stand the jolting of the inside. She proved to be a little elderly lady, carrying a cat in a basket, and she turned round and said to me, "How nice of you to leave me the front seat!" So I beamed on her, and felt generous, and refrained from saying that I couldn't help it.

It is a lovely run up the valley of the Esk. Everything was washed and regenerated after yesterday's rain, and the hills, though perfectly clear in outline, wore an opalescent purple veil which made them look loftier and more majestic. How pleasant it is to be joyfully expected! As we ascended the

valley, showering parcels all along, I felt the reflected glory of being *the* event of the day. The recipients were of every grade, and class, and age. Here was an adorable little girl with Venetian red hair. It must have been her birthday, for she had as many parcels as she could carry. We were high up above the river now, and there were large houses in park-like grounds. The cat's mistress in front turned round to tell me of the lovely treats given to the school children by the old gentleman who lived in one of these. We passed a tiny village called Bentpath, with actually an inn and a post office of its own, and with gardens gay with roses and honeysuckle. The roadside was punctuated with little letter-boxes, generally painted green, and sometimes with pretentious leaden roofs. They were nailed on to tree-trunks or fastened to gate-posts. The conductor told me that the birds make great use of these for their nests, so much so that the owners very often have had to put up a second box to receive the letters ! He pointed out one at Midknock. " The children took the eggs on their way to school, but one year she cam' back and laid again. The kiddies started the same caper next year, and so she got sort o' sick of it, and stayed away altogether."

We had been on the same side of the river all the way, and now at the fork by Enzieholm (pronounced Eynieholm) Bridge we still kept to the left, taking the longer and lower road. There is a fort near

Enzieholm, on the left of the road beside a burn, one of the many impressive remains left by the tribes who occupied this district. It bears the fascinating name of "Bogle Walls." We were getting into much wilder country: no more parks and pleasaunces, but bare and rugged hills on either side of the narrow valley. Turning a sharp hair-pin bend we found our way was blocked by a scattered flock of mountain sheep who seemed in no hurry to renounce the road.

Passing under the striking native fort of Bailiehill, we came to the King Pool, where the Black Esk and the White Esk meet. Here great rocks, all colours, rise slantwise across the bed of the stream as if heaved up in some mighty natural convulsion. There is a tradition that the King Pool is named after Shaw, King of the Picts, who is said to have been drowned here when fleeing from the battlefield after having been defeated by the Scots.

Running north and south, on the crest of the moorland between the road we are on and the upper road, there is an earthwork known as the "Deil's Jingle." It consists of a low mound, with a shallow ditch about 8 feet wide alongside it. Like other similar banks, it is thought merely to mark a boundary, and to have no defensive purpose or value.

From the King Pool northward the whole country is scattered thick with forts, entrenchments, and

stone circles, almost as far as to Raeburnfoot. The two most important of these native forts are the above-mentioned Bailiehill Fort on Camp Hill, and the famous Castle O'er, a mile and a half farther up the valley. The Bailiehill looks straight up the valley of the White Esk and also down the dale of the main river. It was enclosed by a stony rampart, still about 5 feet high in the best preserved parts.

The fort at Castle O'er is of very great size and strength, and must have served as a native stronghold for a long period. All the principal trenches are excavated for several feet through solid rock. It lies at a height of some 884 feet above the sea, and nearly 300 feet above the mansion-house of Castle O'er, which is itself hidden from the road by thick trees. Only a quarter of an hour's climb is necessary to reach the fort from the road. The ramparts and ditches are still very striking. There is an inner stronghold which was once surrounded by a strong stone wall, with a deep ditch outside it; and the spoil from the ditch was thrown up to make a mound enclosing the whole. Then there were outer lines of defence, similar in character, set at a distance of 100 to 200 feet. Mr. Richard Bell of Castle O'er traced an elaborate network of trenches linked up with this fort.

Dr. Brown, the parish minister of Eskdalemuir a century ago, was the first to discover the Roman

fort at Raeburnfoot. He wrote in the *New Statistical Account* :

“ In my former account I mentioned Castle Overbie as a supposed Roman Camp, communicating with Middlebie and Netherbie. I am now convinced it is of Saxon origin, and that the true Roman camp of Overbie is on the farm of Raeburnfoot, about a mile above the church. It is situated on a tongue of land between the houses of Raeburnfoot and the Esk, inclining gently towards the east, and about 40 feet above the level of the river. I stumbled upon it accidentally in the summer of 1810, and am inclined to believe that I have been fortunate enough to discover the true Roman Station in the head of Eskdale.”

But Mr. Richard Bell was not at all ready to relinquish the name of Overbie for his beloved Castle O'er. He claimed that Overbie, Middlebie, and Netherbie were all originally British earth-works, afterwards occupied by the Romans, and that the name of Middlebie properly belonged to Burnswark, and not to Birrens.

The name Castle O'er for the fort is found as far back as 1682, and Overbie seems to have been its more ancient name. When Mr. Bell's father acquired the property, the house was known as Yetbyre. Not liking the name, which he associated with a gate and a cowhouse, he re-christened house

and lands after the fort, Castle O'er. But Mr. Bell adds :

" I am told Yetbyre means ' chief's stronghold.' "

So it was not such a bad name after all.

About half a mile north of Castle O'er house, at a bend of the White Esk and close to the river-bank, there is to be seen a curious enclosure, originally circular, but half of it has been eaten away by the river. It lies too low down to have been suitable for a fort. When it was excavated the subsoil was found to be blue clay, and on this, logs of wood had been laid to form a floor. The logs themselves had decayed, but the bark remained. A flooring of rough stones lay on the top of the wooden one. In the centre, under a heap of stones, there was found a great quantity of fragments of charred bones, which gave rise to the suggestion that this was an ancient crematorium. However, experts are inclined to think that the bones were not human. The enclosure is surrounded by an inner and an outer trench, between which runs a rampart about 5 feet high. In the section where the river has cut into it the formation of the flooring can be traced. The whole work is very noticeable from the road.

More than a mile farther on is Castle Hill, on which there is another fort.

Farther north still, on the right of the road, and

on the ground of Cote Farm, there are remains of two stone circles, both plainly visible from the road. They are known as the Girdle Stanes and the Loupin' Stanes. Though 600 yards apart, it is probable that they formed parts of one scheme, for an irregular line of large stones leads from one to the other. The Girdle Stanes now consist of twenty-six large stones forming an arc of a circle. A change in the course of the river has cut away the bank, and some of the stones thus displaced can be seen lying in the river-bed. Of the twenty-six still in the circle, ten are standing erect and more or less pillar-like, four are prostrate pillars, and the rest are squat.

The Loupin' Stanes originally numbered twelve, of which ten are left, but only two are still standing as pillars, and they are each 5 feet 4 inches high.

Mr. Richard Bell tells us that the name originated from the fact that the young men of the parish used to "loup" from the flat top of one stone to that of the other, a distance of 8 feet.

And now at last we saw ahead the little grey church at Eskdalemuir and came to the post office, which was our destination. Outside the manse the minister was waiting for his mail.

The fort at RAEBURNFOOT is about half a mile farther up the valley, so I pushed on, passing two farmhouses and the school, and then inquiring of some haymakers, who directed me to a swing-bridge

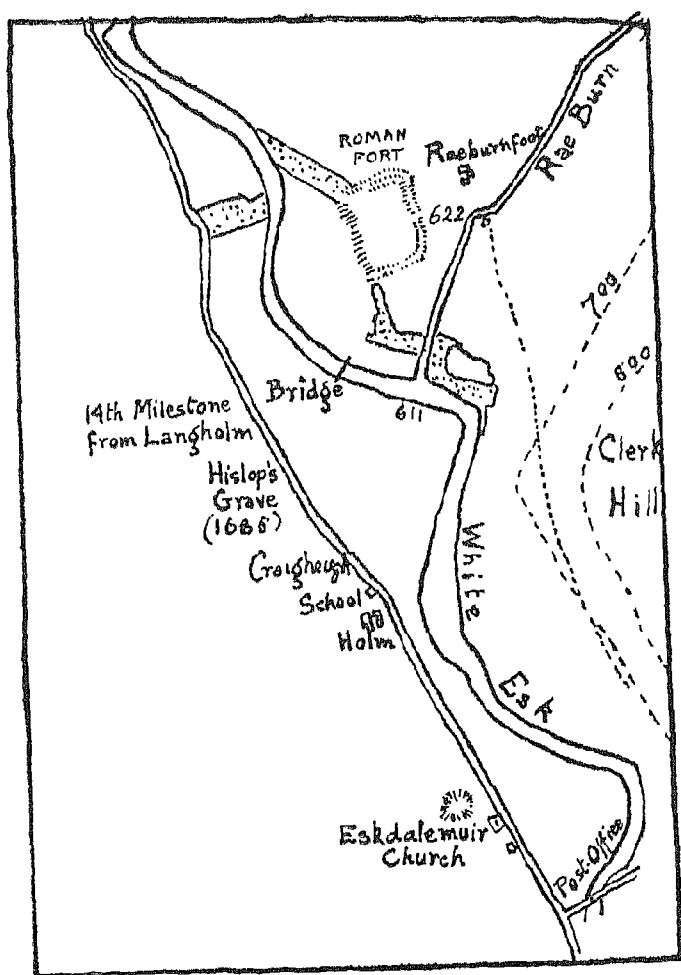


FIG. 31.—Map of Raeburnfoot, based on the O.S. Map.

Scale: $\frac{1}{2}$ inches to the mile.

With the sanction of the Controller of H.M. Stationery Office.

over the Esk, at the end of a field path. It was a long bridge made of wire, and reached by a flight of steps at each end. As every one knows, such bridges must be treated warily and with due respect, for if one tries to run across them the oscillation is so great as to make it difficult to keep one's footing. Almost facing the bridge, but a little way off across a meadow, there was a steepish bank covered with fir trees, and this, I found afterwards, was the western boundary of the fort. Away to the right I could see a stream running into the river. The fort lies in the angle formed by the junction of the Rae Burn with the White Esk, so I knew this must be the Rae Burn, and I followed up its bank till I came to a little white farmstead, outside which a man was sweeping down the hay with long strokes of his scythe. I stood and watched him for pure pleasure. The grass he was cutting was nearly all flowers—purple scabious, red sorrel, yellow hawk-weed, white bladder-campion, blue harebells, rose-coloured ragwort, with daisies, and I know not what else besides. It certainly made a gay tangle of colour to which even the grass added no green, covered as it was with delicate pink blossom.

Presently the scythe stopped, and I asked the mower about the fort. His face beamed all over, and throwing down his scythe he walked across, saying, "I'll show ye. I'm John Dagleish o' Raeburnfoot." I found that in 1898 he had helped

Mr. Barbour of Dumfries in the excavations for the Dumfries and Galloway Antiquarian Society, and he was as keen as ever on describing what had been discovered, and in pointing out what could still be traced. He showed me where the main road, gravelled and having apparently stone kerbs, had run, north and south; and where traces of gravel had been found along a line parallel to it, as if marking a road between huts. Stone foundations were discovered (so he said) to the "officers' huts," but no plan could be made. Building stone is very scarce hereabouts; the soil is deep, soft loam, and if there is stone beneath it must be a long way down. Yet there were found within the fort pieces of hard ironstone, which must certainly have been brought from a distance. At a mound somewhere about the centre, my guide stopped and said, "This is whaur what they callit the '*Prætorium*' wull ha' been." As a matter of fact, the excavator's report states that nothing was found within the fort that could be definitely assigned to a building.

The eastern rampart is now almost obliterated, having lain where the ground is low and marshy. On the west, the fortifications end abruptly on the edge of a steep declivity, for the plateau on which the fort stands rises nearly 40 feet above the low meadows by the water's edge. The ditches and mounds are best preserved on the north side. The

rampart was found to be of earth and about 30 feet wide at the base. There are signs of a clavi-cula at the southern entrance. The area now visible is about $4\frac{1}{2}$ acres, but clearly it was originally larger.

A space of rather more than an acre in the centre of this fort is enclosed by an inner rampart, made of earth and clay in layers, about 35 feet broad at the base, and having two surrounding ditches. It is thus, as it were, a fort within a fort, resembling in that respect Castle-shaw, in Yorkshire,

where the pottery fragments point to a wholly pre-Antonine occupation, ending with the reign of Trajan, or very little later. I gathered from "John Dagleish o' Raeburnfoot" that two kinds of pottery had been found near where the east gate should have been. The gate itself was not found, but

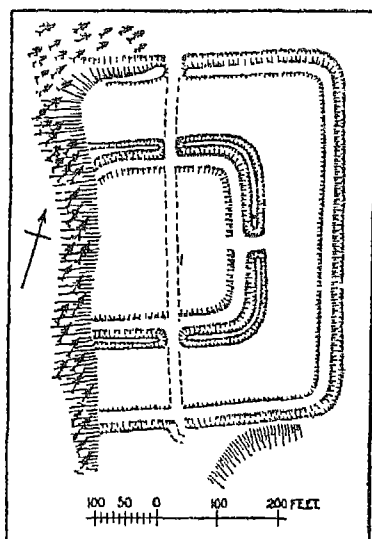


FIG. 32.—Plan of the Fort at Raeburnfoot.

With the sanction of the Controller of H.M. Stationery Office, reproduced from *The Inventory of Historical Monuments (Dumfriesshire)*.

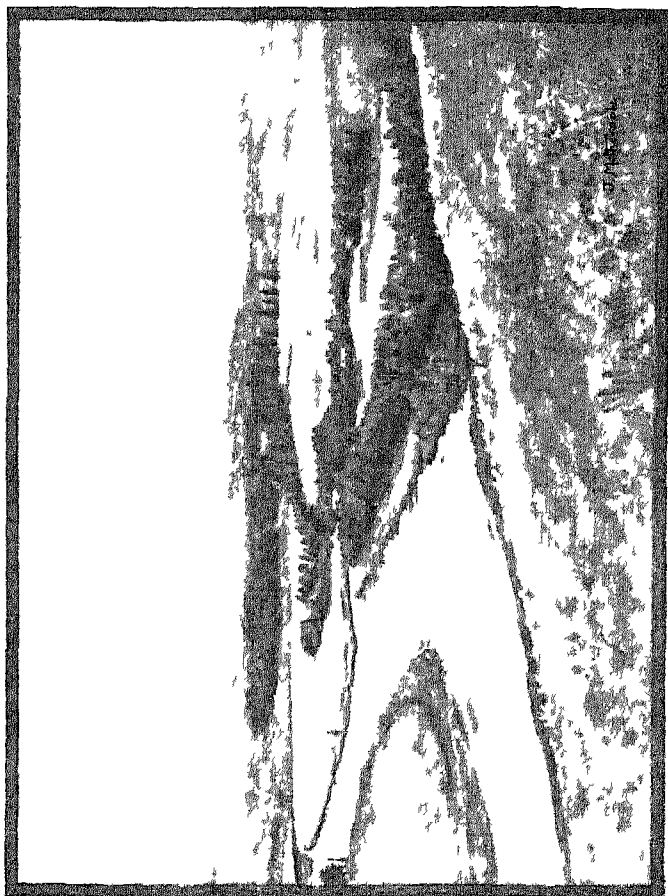
there was a mound, he said, thought to be an emplacement for an engine.

"It was a' wi' little stanes set intil it. Ay, it wast." But I could find no mention of it in the report. The pottery fragments were yellowish in colour and of two kinds—coarse and biscuit ware.

The remains of two amphoræ are noted in the report as undoubtedly of Roman origin, and are alone sufficient to prove who were the builders. The ditch which surrounds the fort is V-shaped and 3 to 4 feet deep. There was evidence of a disaster, for a quantity of charred wood was found, as if wooden interior buildings had been burned down to the ground.

When we had finished examining the fort, John Dagleish asked to see my map. We sat down on the grass and spread it out, while he said, "I'll show ye where the Catrail goes, where I've seen it wi' my own eyes." And he marked a pencil line on my map extending from the Deil's Jingle south-westward towards the Black Esk. The name of "Catrail" for an earthwork is often used locally in places where it does not really belong.

He told me of some one in Langholm who had a silver inscribed ring, which her husband had found when digging peat in the Deil's Jingle, together with some leather gloves and some coins.



When I thanked him on taking leave, having kept him a full hour from his haymaking, he deprecated any expression of gratitude, saying gruffly, "It was juist nowt but ordinar' civeelity."

Crossing the Rae Burn by a little footbridge, below the fort and close to a cottage, I climbed the steep sides of Clerk Hill, to find a point of view for a sketch. There were indications of earthworks on this hill, as almost everywhere. I mounted high enough to look down on the site of the fort, and on the Esk twisting below it. As in the case of so many other Roman forts, the river has changed its course. In fact, both the Esk and the Rae Burn now flow at a greater distance from the fort than when the Romans planned it. A little enclosure near the river was called "Curling Pond" in my map, but it has evidently been drained, and was a creamy mass of meadow-sweet, surrounded by fir trees. Swelling, undulating hills rose on every side, reaching their greatest height in Ettrick Penn, 6 miles away, and beyond was the still loftier White Coomb group.

When I had been sitting an hour or so the clouds hung heavy in the north, and by three o'clock rain had begun to fall, so I had to gather up my things and make my way down to shelter. Since the post-bus did not leave till 6.30, I went straight to the Craighaugh farmhouse, where I had been told I could get tea. The kitchen was full of damp

haymakers, driven in by the rain, but the goodwife told me she could give me tea too, if I did not mind having it at a little separate table in the kitchen, as she was so busy. This rather pleased me than otherwise. I liked to sit in a corner unnoticed and hear the talk going on.

After tea I wondered if there was any possibility of getting back to Lockerbie instead of waiting to return to Langholm by the post-bus. When I asked my hostess she said that two grocery vans came that way, and I might try if one of them would take me. She gave me a chair in the porch and told me the recognized signal to make when groceries were required. The first trial was a failure, as the two men in charge were spending the night in the neighbourhood and only returning to Lockerbie on the morrow. But the second, the driver of the "Co-op." van, was very willing to take me, and I was delighted when I found that he had to travel, not by the most direct route, but over the rough road by the Corrie Water. He was not quite ready to start, so I had time to go and see Hyslop's Grave, which is in a field on the left of the road beyond Craighaugh. A stone commemorates the martyrdom of Andrew Hyslop, a Covenanter, in these words ;

HERE LIES ANDR. HYSLOP MARTYR
SHOT DEAD UPON THIS PLACE BY SIR
JAMES JOHNSTON OF WESTERHALL
AND JOHN GRAHAM OF CLAVERHOUSE
FOR ADHERING TO THE WORD OF
GOD, CHRIST'S KINGLY GOVERNMENT
IN HIS HOUSE, AND YE COVENANTED
WORK OF REFORMATION, AGAINST
TYRANNY, PERGURY AND PRELACY,
MAY 12. 1685. REV. 12. 11.

HALT, PASSENGER, ONE WORD WITH THEE OR
TWO,
WHY I LY HERE WOULDST THOU TRULY KNOW,
BY WICKED HANDS CRUEL AND UNJUST
WITHOUT ALL LAW MY LIFE FROM ME THEY
THRUST.
& BEING DEAD THEY LEFT ME ON THIS SPOT,
& FOR BURIAL THIS SAME PLACE I GOT.
TRUTH'S FRIENDS IN ESKDALE NOW TRIUMPH.
THEN LET (*sic*) VIZ THE FAITHFUL FOR MY
SEAL THAT GOT.

1702.

I found there was another passenger on the "Co-op." van, a small boy in a blue jersey. He sat between me and the driver, who introduced him casually as "A friend of mine." His duty was to get down and open gates, or to crawl in amongst the heterogeneous contents of the back of the van, and bring out bread, soap, sardines, or drapery, as the case might be. His position was evidently an unofficial one ; he had merely been co-opted by the driver, but he thoroughly enjoyed his responsibilities. The rain had almost ceased, and faint gleams of

sunshine were flickering over the wet moorland. It was a bleak and desolate region we were going through, with houses few and far between, and we jolted over the stones of the rough hill-tracks in a way to test the endurance of even a Ford van. The driver regretted on my account that he had to stop at nearly every farmhouse, but I was in no hurry, and it was pleasant to be party to such freely-welcomed visits. He told me to look out for a girl who met the van at a certain point in the road. She came from a distant shepherd's cottage, and she had to walk 8 miles to fetch the week's bread for the family, bringing a large pillow-case to hold it. He said one would think she would welcome the chance of saying a few words, but that, on the contrary, she barely opened her mouth. He was a very cheery fellow himself and had jokes with every one at the house doors. I found he came from Lochmaben, a few miles west of Lockerbie, where I had been staying, and he was proud of all its ancient history. Its castle was the home of the Bruces, and here the great King Robert had gathered his friends round him before his successful attempt to win the crown. The "mony lochs" of Lochmaben (there are nine of them) contain plenty of fish, including the vendace, a rare kind which tradition says was originally brought here from Spain by Mary Queen of Scots. It is considered a great delicacy. The right to fish in the lochs is

held by the "lairds" of the "Four Towns"—Greenhill, Heck, Smallholm, and Hightae. These are smallholders, the conditions of whose tenure date back to the Bruces. They are still called "The King's Kindly Tenants." It was here that I learned that any one who owns so much as a potato-patch of Scottish soil has a right to the proud name of "laird."

Close to one of the lochs there is a remarkable circular native fort, known as Wood Castle. This was surveyed and planned by Roy, who set it down as Roman. Its appearance must be even more striking now than when he saw it, for a thick hedge of gorse has grown up on the top of its encircling mound, making it look still higher. I was going to examine it closely one day, but a girl ran out from the farmhouse in great concern to tell me that a fierce bull was shut up in the enclosure, and it was not safe to go near him.

But I have wandered far from the road by the Corrie Water. I learnt that the van travelled once a week to the foot of Burnswark Hill, which I was preparing to visit very shortly, so I arranged with the driver to pick me up there late one afternoon at the cottage where he had to leave his groceries, and to bring me back to Lockerbie.

CHAPTER XVII

BIRRENS

THE Roman remains at Birrens in Dumfriesshire were identified more than two centuries ago with the BLATOBVLGIVM of the Antonine Itinerary.

Iter II. opens as follows :

“ Item a vallo ad portum Ritupis . . . mpm cccclxxxi

A Blatobulgio castra exploratorium . . . mpm XII

Lugovallo mpm XII ”

Lugovallum or Luguvallium has long been recognized as Carlisle, and the Roman site at Netherby was readily seen to fit with Castra Exploratorium, eleven English or twelve Roman miles north of Carlisle. Birrens, lying about the same distance beyond Netherby, was thus naturally identified with Blatobulgium. It is the only fort in Scotland mentioned in the Itinerary, where it is given as the first post on the Roman road leading from the Vallum or Wall to Richborough, the Roman port of Rutupiaë. As Birrens actually lies some miles north of Hadrian's Wall, this can only mean that it was comprised, as an outlying fort, in the whole

frontier-scheme, and we shall see that there is good reason to suppose that it was first built at about the same time as the Wall.

It has been known sometimes as "The Fort of Middleby," for it is in the parish of Middlebie, and about a mile from the tiny village of that name.

Kirtlebridge is the nearest railway station, and there I arrived from Lockerbie at seven o'clock one morning, because the next train would not have brought me till midday.

Turning to the left after coming out of the station, I had to take the first road on the right for Middlebie, following close alongside the railway.

The flat top of Burnswark Hill soon appeared ahead on the horizon. It was a lovely still morning, with a slight mist veiling a tender blue sky. The larks were singing rapturously, and the sweet early-morning smell had not vanished with the rising sun. Delicate threads of gossamer floated out across the road as if to bar my way. I felt them on my face like the touch of fairy fingers. Gossamer—"God's summer"! Surely a good word with which to begin the day.

The road ran between fields, and in one of these there was the most effective scarecrow I have ever seen. The Scots are great at "tattie-bogles," as they call them. This one was on a pole at least 12 feet high. It was a stuffed suit of man's clothes,

and the pole went up through one leg of the trousers to the head. One arm was held out stiffly at right angles to the body, and from the hand dangled a string, at the end of which was a dead crow. The tall pole bent and swayed in spite of there being very little wind, the figure swayed with it, and the crow flapped at the end of the string. It had an eerie effect. Had I been a crow I should certainly have kept away.

Scotland provided the only female scarecrow that I have ever seen. I wondered if she was a spontaneous result of the emancipation of woman, or whether she was set up in a satirical spirit by some man, as who would say, "This door also shall be no longer closed to them." She wore a short black-and-white frock and a pull-on orange felt hat. Perhaps these "tattie-bogles" have served in the past to provide some small outlet for the pent-up dramatic instinct of the Scottish people.

It was in this very neighbourhood that Carlyle gathered his impression of scarecrows; and who can say whether his well-known satirical words have not raised the local standard of excellence in this type of "Clothed Person"?

"It will remain to be examined in how far the SCARECROW, as a Clothed Person, is not also entitled to benefit of clergy, and English trial by jury; nay, perhaps, considering his high function (for is not he too a Defender of Property, and

Sovereign armed with the *terrors* of the Law?), to a certain royal Immunity and Inviolability."

I stopped at Broadlee farmhouse to ask for a glass of milk to supplement my early breakfast of scones. The bonny girl who brought it showed me a javelin which Mr. Rithet, the farmer, had picked up at Birrens the year before: just the bronze head which had fitted on to a wooden shaft.

It was less than a mile's walk to the fort. I knew exactly where to look for it, because I had marked it several times from the train. The rail-

way is here carried across the valley of the Mein Water on a very high viaduct of five arches, and a wooden heck, to keep the sheep from straying along the bed of the stream, dangles by long wires from the top of the arches. The road crosses the stream by a low single-arched bridge; and the fort lies between

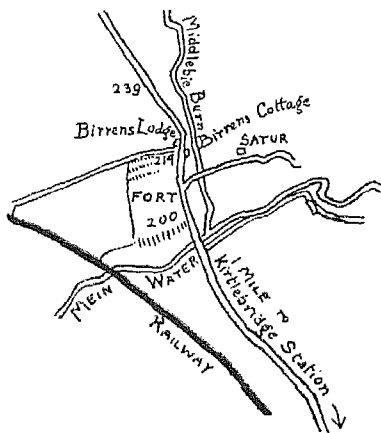


FIG. 33.—Map of Birrens.
From the O.S. Map.

Scale: $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches to the mile.

With the sanction of the Controller of H.M.
Stationery Office.

the railway and the road, just north of the bridge. It is pleasant, peaceful country, with no very striking features herabouts. The mound of the fort rises conspicuously on the left of the road. Rampart, ditches, gateways, and inner buildings are all discernible under the grass.

Excavations carried out in 1895 by Mr. James Barbour, for the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, proved this to be a second-century stone-built fort of the standard type. Nothing was found to suggest an Agricolan occupation.

The site is a plateau, rising abruptly to a height of about 20 feet above the Mein Water and the Haughill (or Middlebie) Burn, which unite just beyond the south-east angle of the fort. The site slopes gradually from north to south.

The defences were very remarkable, and in some respects may be compared to those of Ardoch. There were no less than six parallel ditches beyond the north rampart, and curving round the north-east angle. They occupied a width of 125 feet, or an average of 21 feet each, but the inner one was found to be 3 or 4 feet wider than any of the others. These ditches have become very largely silted up, but they can still be traced in the grass. The bottoms proved to be flat, and from 2 to 3 feet wide.

It is impossible now to say what was the exact nature of the defences on the other three sides. Roy's plan, made in the middle of the eighteenth

century, shows an annexe on the west side with traces of buildings in its southern half and a Roman Way bisecting it almost diagonally from south-east to north-west. He also shows four ditches between this annexe and the western rampart. Now all traces of the annexe—which probably contained the baths—have disappeared under the plough, and of

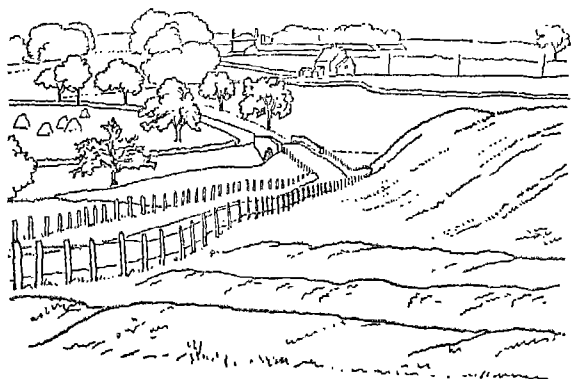


FIG. 34.—The Northern Defences of Birrens, looking south.

the four ditches only the inner one has, in part, survived. On the east, Roy shows the Middlebie Burn winding beneath the bank in such a way as to suggest that it has made great inroads on the ditches on that side. The present road which now cuts close under the eastern rampart did not exist in his day. He also shows the Mein Water as flowing then much closer to the fort on the south side, where clearly the defences have all been washed

away. The old bed of the stream can be traced under the steep bank, and parts of the eastern defences are still visible on the far side of the modern road, between it and the Middlebie Burn.

The coins found at Birrens point wholly to a second-century occupation. During the excavations of 1895 there were found two denarii of Mark Antony, and one denarius each of Domitian, Nerva, Hadrian, and Pius, as well as two large brass coins of Trajan, one of Hadrian, and one of Pius, and a single second brass of Pius. The denarii of Mark Antony and of Domitian still circulated freely in the reign of Pius and even later, so their presence does not prove a first-century occupation of the site. An early bronze coin (minted between A.D. 16 and 19) was seen by Sir John Clerk in 1737, but was probably a waif. The gold coin of Constantius Chlorus (A.D. 305-6), illustrated by Gordon, is shown by Sir George Macdonald to have been worn for many years as an amulet. A small ring had been soldered on above the emperor's head, and the reverse had been worn quite smooth by rubbing. It was, therefore, not in circulation when it was dropped, and has no value as evidence. There is nothing to show that the Romans occupied the site during the Agricola period nor after the time of Commodus. The evidence of the pottery finds confirms that of the coins, although in 1895 the real value of pottery evidence had not come fully

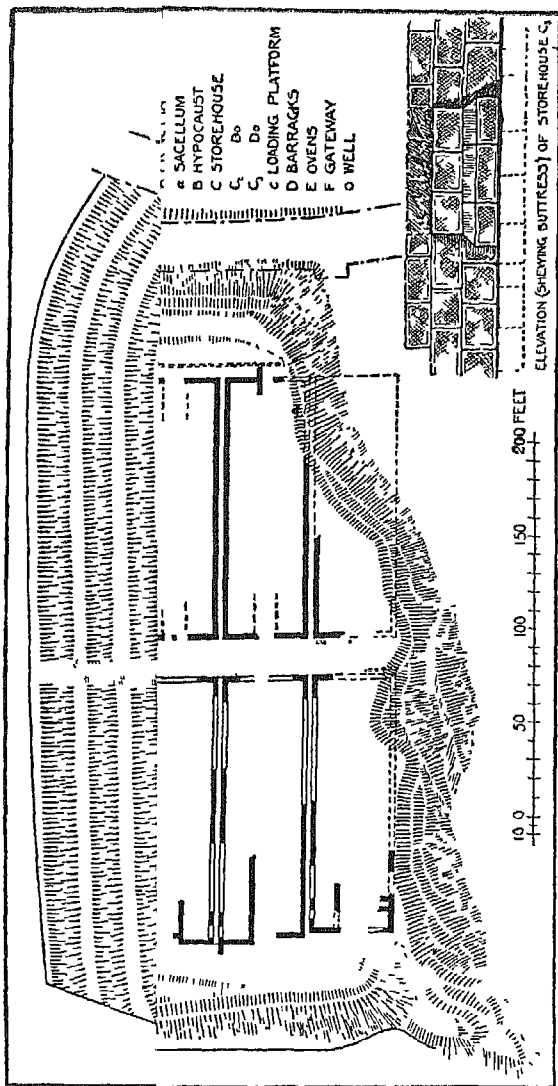


PLATE 10 PLAN OF HYPocausts (BATHS OF LUGDUNUM)

by G. B. B. B.

to light, and there was therefore no systematic search for fragments, nor for rubbish-pits which might contain them.

Five hundred pieces of Samian ware were picked up, and many fragments of mortaria and amphoræ, but there was nothing at all to suggest a date either earlier or later than the second century.

Mr. James Curle found amongst the fragments some to which Newstead offered no parallel. He was inclined to attribute them to the Hadrianic period. "If this be so," writes Sir George Macdonald, "the chances are that the fort at Birrens was originally built when Hadrian's Wall was erected, and that it was held by a Roman garrison for fifteen or twenty years before Lollius Urbicus led the troops of Pius into Scotland about A.D. 142. In that event it must have been designed as an outlier of the great Tyne and Solway barrier. And a function of the sort would agree admirably with the . . . Antonine Itinerary, where Blatobulgium is made the starting-point of the road that ran *a vallo*—that is, from the Wall—to Richborough."

Before excavation the massive rampart showed as a mound from 40 to 50 feet wide, from 4 to 7 feet high on the outside, and 3 to 4 feet on the inside face, where the whole level of the ground is higher. It was found to be composed of red earth with layers of clay and brushwood, and to have been built up on a well-laid stone foundation 18 feet wide with

straight margins. Various drains were found passing through the rampart. The space it enclosed was a rectangle of nearly 4 acres, with the usual rounded corners.

Excavation showed that at some time the rampart had been breached to a considerable depth, and repaired later, thus giving proof that there had

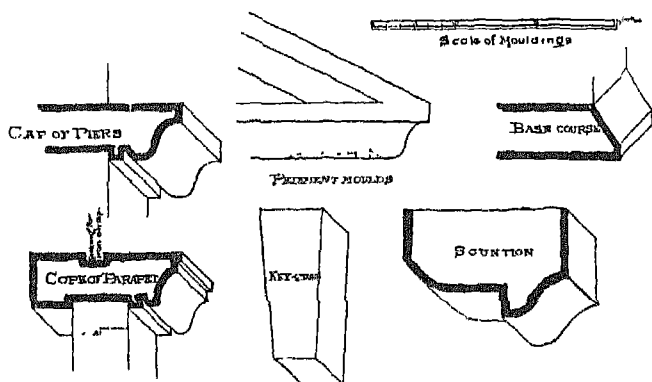


FIG. 35.—Stone Mouldings from Birrens.
(From *P.S.A.S.* xxxi.)

been more than one occupation of the fort. Many other discoveries confirmed this.

The positions of three of the entrances are still distinctly visible: one in the centre of the north face, and two opposite to each other in the east and west faces, not in the centre, but considerably farther to the south. No doubt there was a fourth entrance in the south face, opposite that on the

north, but it has been broken away. Beneath the northern gateway, about 3 feet farther down, were found traces of an earlier entrance of quite a different type, showing that this gate had undergone a thorough reconstruction. In the excavation of the inner buildings also there was plenty of evidence that they had been destroyed at some period, and rebuilt on the same or nearly the same sites. It was not always possible to differentiate between the primary and secondary buildings, but where it was possible, those of later date are shown grey in the plan (with diagonal lines) instead of in solid black.

The inner buildings traced included the Principia or headquarters building in the centre, with the usual five rooms at the back ; of which the central one was the *sacellum* or Chapel of the Standards. Beneath its floor there was the usual second-century strong-room or treasure-chamber, reached by a short flight of steps. The courtyard of this building was divided in two by a covered walk or arcade, supported by square piers and columns facing each other. It will be seen from the plan that various changes were made here at the period of reconstruction.

An altar was found thrown into the well in the courtyard. It had been dedicated to the Discipline of the Emperor by the Second Cohort of Tungrians, 1000 strong, with its proportion of cavalry—that is,

240 horse to 760 foot (Fig. 36). There are interesting architectural features carved in the cornice, as shown on a larger scale in Fig. 37.

The most important inscription of all was recovered partly from the well of the Principia, and partly scattered in the courtyard. It was broken



FIG. 36.—Altar found in the Well at Birrens.

(From *P.S.A.S.* xxx.)

into thirteen fragments, but when put together it proved to be the tablet which had been placed on the Principia buildings when they were erected. Such tablets are well known in Scotland. A similar one from Rough Castle on the Antonine Wall contained, as we

have seen, the actual words *principia fecit*. They always give the name of the regiment which is to have its headquarters in the building, and in this case it was the Second Cohort of Tungrians.

The whole inscription reads as follows :

IMP(ERATORI) CAES(ARI) T(ITO) AEL(IO)
 HADR(IANO) ANTONINO AVG(VSTO) P(ATRI)
 P(ATRIAE) PONT(IFICI) MAX(IMO), TR(IBVNICIA)
 POT(ESTATE) XXI., CO(N)S(VLI) IV.,
 COH(ORS) II. TVNGR(ORVM) MIL(LIARIA),
 EQ(VITATA), C(IVIVM) LATINORVM,
 SUB JV(LIO) VERO LEG(ATO) AVG(VSTI)
 PR(O)-PR(AETORE).

(" In honour of the Emperor Caesar Titus Ælius Hadrianus Antoninus Augustus, Father of his Country, Pontifex Maximus, invested with the tribunician power twenty-one times, four times Consul, (erected by) the Second Cohort of Tungrians, a thousand strong, with its proportion of cavalry, Roman citizens, under Julius Verus, Imperial Legate, with the Rank of Proprætor.")

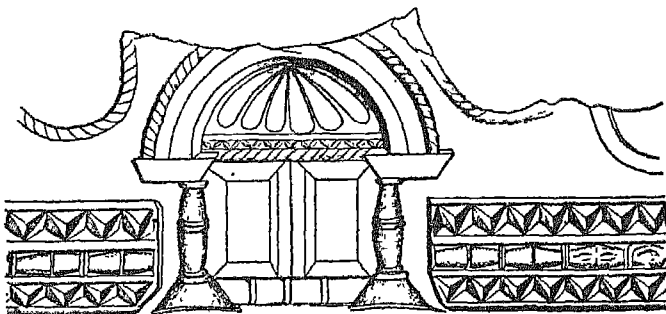


FIG. 37.—Architectural Details from Altar in Fig. 36.

(From *P.S.A.S.* xxx.)

The way in which the full interpretation of this inscription was made possible gives an example of the unexpected thrills which may from time to time reward the archæologist.

The name of the governor, Julius Verus, was so much mutilated that it remained unintelligible for eight years. Then there was dredged up from the bed of the Tyne a slab which revealed the missing name! It had been set up in honour of Antoninus Pius by detachments of the Second, Sixth, and Twentieth Legions, "composed of men specially transferred from Upper and Lower Germany, under Julius Verus, Governor of Britain."

A similar tablet from Brough (Anavio), in Derbyshire, had also lacked the name of the governor, and the three together disclosed the fact that there had been serious and widespread trouble in the island under Julius Verus, and that detachments from the armies on the Rhine had to be hurried across to fill up the gaps in the legions in Britain. A broken stone from Netherby appears to belong also to this series. It is clear that the Brigantes had risen throughout their whole territory, had attacked the Roman forts successfully, destroying the garrisons or compelling them to flee, and wreaking their vengeance also on the forsaken buildings. The garrison at Birrens at this time appears to have been the First Cohort of Germans.

By A.D. 158 Julius Verus had quelled the rebellion sufficiently to rebuild the fort at Birrens, and to leave the Second Cohort of Tungrians in possession.

A great rising of Brigantes in the reign of Pius is referred to by Pausanias as having been at first

successful, but in the end crushed completely. Historians had never known where to place that rising, and had supposed that the reference was to some occurrence in the *early* years of the reign of Pius. Now the problem is solved very satisfactorily.

As the Emperors received the tribunician power annually, the exact date of the Birrens tablet can be fixed. The twenty-first year of the reign of Antoninus Pius was A.D. 158. The finding of the fragments in the well shows that the tablet must have remained in its place until the final destruction of the fort by the enemy, so it is clear that the Second Cohort of Tungrians was in occupation of the site from A.D. 158 until about A.D. 181. We learn from Tacitus that this cohort was in the front of Agricola's line in the famous battle of Mount Graupius; and after the abandonment of Scotland it seems to have been withdrawn to Castlesteads, one of the forts on Hadrian's Wall, where it has left several inscriptions, including one that can be dated, A.D. 241.

The discovery of tablets and altars thus thrown into wells falls into line with similar finds at Newstead, where also the well of the Principia had been blocked by a victorious enemy at the time of the final evacuation of the fort—that is, in about the year 181.

Immediately to the east of the Principia there is seen in the plan a building connected with a hypocaust, and it is safe to suppose from its position and

evident importance that it was the commandant's house. Like the Principia, it faced towards the south.

The northern part of the site is occupied by long narrow buildings each 136 feet long. South of the *via principalis* there are somewhat similar structures, which may have served as stables for the horses of the cavalry.

The three buildings, with heavy buttresses to support stone roofs, were the familiar storehouses or granaries. They showed the usual precautions against damp in the form of sleeper walls and ventilation spaces; and a loading platform was traced at the west end of the largest one. Also, blackened grain was found amongst their ruins. The north wall of the one west of the Principia was still standing to a height of seven courses, and was the highest piece of wall uncovered.

Bread was the staple food of the Roman army, and it is calculated that the two smaller granaries here would have held enough wheat to feed a garrison of one thousand men for a complete year, allowing the liberal average of 3 lb. per man per day.

The third and largest storehouse would have held the provender for the horses. The reticulated masonry of its north wall and part of a buttress are shown in elevation in Plate 10. The bakery of the fort was discovered, in the shape of four circular ovens built into the inner slope of the rampart on the east side.

The streets were found to be of hard-beaten gravel, with kerbs consisting of two layers of stones laid on the flat, and solid gutters outside. In the shorter cross-streets there was only one gutter along the central line. The street between the Principia and the north gate was paved with whinstone cobbles.

Amongst the objects found during the excavations were stone flooring-tiles, part of a roofing-tile, and quantities of window-glass.

Of the twenty-five inscribed stones recorded as having been found at the fort, nine belong to the Second Cohort of Tungrians, three bear the name and title of the Sixth Legion, and two the name of



FIG. 38.—Altar from Birrens.
(From *P.S.A.S.* xxx.)

another cohort of auxiliaries—"Nerva's Own First Cohort of Germans." It is natural to suppose that this regiment occupied the fort in its earlier period, as the Tungrians certainly did in its later period. The fact that so few memorials of the German Cohort have come down to us would be due partly to the destroying hand of the enemy in about 155, and partly to that of the returning Romans under Julius Verus, who would be at more trouble to level the ground for their own reconstructions than to preserve the inscriptions of their predecessors. "Nerva's Own" was at one time probably at Netherby.

The three legionary stones (Leg. VI·V) show that this Legion from York, which assisted in the building of Hadrian's Wall and of the Antonine Wall, was also concerned with building or restoration at Birrens. In this connection Sir George Macdonald draws attention to the altar found at Kirkandrews, near Burgh-by-Sands—almost the nearest point to Birrens on Hadrian's Wall. This altar was dedicated by a commander of the Sixth Legion "as a thank-offering for success in the campaign north of the Wall." From the style of the lettering experts are inclined to place it at a date later than A.D. 150, and it may, therefore, commemorate the repression by the Sixth Legion of the great native rebellion, after which Blatobulgium had to be rebuilt.

Of the other stones, three altars dug up on the site at different times give the names of detachments serving in the Second Cohort of Tungrians.

One of these is dedicated to Mars and the Victory of the Emperor by Rætian spearmen serving in the Cohort. We have met these spearmen before at Habitancium, and a stone in Jedburgh Abbey mentions them. The second altar was set up by soldiers from the Condrustian district, and the third by soldiers from the Vellaus district, all serving in the Second Cohort of



FIG. 39.—Altar from Birrens, dedicated by Rætian Spearmen.
(From *P.S.A.S.* xxx.)

Tungrians. The two last are dedicated to the unfamiliar goddesses, Viradecthis and Ricagambeda. A very ornate altar dedicated to Minerva was dug up in 1810 in the annexe, near the Roman

road, and was for many years used as the pedestal of a sundial at Burnfoot House, where it is still preserved. Two stones from Birrens, dedicated



FIG 40.—Altar to Minerva, from Birrens.

(From *P.S.A.S.* xxx.)

to non-Roman deities, bear the names of two architects, Amandus and Gamidiahus. Perhaps these were the very architects who planned the fort. Amandus set up—by command of some one whose name is lost—a little shrine to Brigantia,

the personification of the land of the Brigantes. She is shown standing in Roman dress, winged like Victory, and bearing the globe, a symbol of victory. In her right hand is a spear, and behind her stands a shield. The donor may have wished to propitiate the native tribes. Altars to Brigantia have been found at Corstopitum, and elsewhere in England.

Gamidiahus dedicates his altar to the strange goddess Harimella.

The statuette of Brigantia was found at Birrens by Sir John Clerk, along with two stone pedestals which each supported a wooden column to Mercury, as may be gathered by the inscriptions on them.

This fort was first recognized as Roman by the Rev. Peter Rae of Kirkbride, who brought it to the notice of Alexander Gordon in 1723. Gordon was the first to publish an account of it. He describes it in his *Itinerarium Septentrionale* (1727), and gives a very untrustworthy plan.

Sir John Clerk of Penicuik provides the next record. In about 1731 he obtained possession of the sculptured figure of Brigantia and of the two inscribed pedestals, which he says were found "near the Roman camp at Midlebie," in the grounds of a poor lady, "in a little temple, which by age had fallen down and become a ruinous kind of heap." He gave the "poor lady" two guineas for the stones.

General Roy is the next authority, and gives an excellent plan in his *Military Antiquities*. Maitland,

in the *History and Antiquities of Scotland* (1757), speaks of triple ramparts and ditches round the annexe, and of subterranean vaults at the southern side of the "town." He also refers to the damage done by the brooks preying on the place. So does Pennant, twenty years later, and he makes mention of a hypocaust, and of a granary destroyed for the sake of its materials.

In the *New Statistical Account* (1731) the minister of Middlebie, the Rev. Richard Nivison, reports the discovery in the annexe of "splendid specimens of Roman antiquity, particularly large stones neatly cut and ornamented, with inscriptions perfectly legible." No doubt many of the altars in the Edinburgh Museum belong to this find, which occurred merely in the course of agricultural work. No systematic excavation was done until 1895.

I made a slight sketch of the fort site from its northern end, showing the defensive ditches (Fig. 34); and another from the higher ground on the north-east, reached by following up the lead of Satur Mill (Fig. 41). Criffel rises high in the far distance, and below it Woodcock Air and Repentance Hill, with its famous tower, show above the line of the railway embankment and the five arches of the viaduct.

A quarter of an hour's walk from Birrens brought me on to Middlebie village, church, and manse, which I had to pass on my way to Burnswark. The

village includes little more than a few whitewashed cottages, amongst which are the smithy and the post office, but the scattered parish covers 27 square miles. The church, standing high above a deep little gorge and almost hidden in trees, belongs to the period when the aim was to make such buildings as unecclesiastical in character as possible, and it

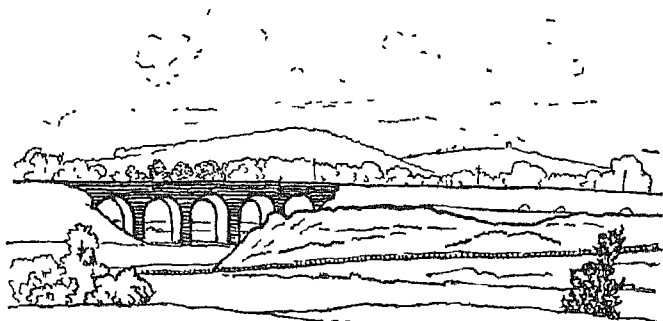


FIG 41 —The Mound of the Fort at Birrens, seen from the north-east, Woodcock Air, Repentance Tower, and Criffel in the distance

has much the appearance of a square stuccoed Victorian villa. But it is to be replaced very shortly by a dignified little stone church. Close by stood the manse, chiefly remarkable for the great beauty of its garden. It was easy to see that the occupants loved flowers in no ordinary way. This encouraged me to make a few inquiries about the Roman remains in the neighbourhood, so I went up boldly and rang the bell. I had seen so much already

since sunrise that I did not realize it was still barely ten o'clock, a terribly early hour to call. The maid who came to the door brought me to my senses by saying, "Mr. Jook will be down directly, if ye will come in and wait." I said, "Surely I haven't come *before breakfast*?" She smiled, and explained that there had been a great excursion to Moffat the previous day—of all the mothers and children in the parish, apparently—and it had been very late indeed before they had all got safely back. Of course I wanted to run away at once, but she insisted on showing me into the drawing-room. Mrs. Duke appeared almost immediately, and from her I first heard of the Roman stones at Old Hoddum Church. She also told me that there was still one Roman altar from Birrens in the neighbourhood—the one shown in Fig. 40, which remains at Burnfoot, and a cast of which I had seen in the Edinburgh Museum. Then she said, "We are just going to have breakfast. Won't you have some with us?" How could I refuse, after three hours' walking in the fresh morning air? But it was not chiefly the breakfast that attracted me. No, indeed! It was like a fairyland adventure of one's childhood, to come to a strange house in a garden of flowers and straightway be invited to breakfast! How could I refuse to enter fairyland? We wandered round the garden after breakfast, and there two children suddenly appeared and chattered away

in true fairyland style. For this is what I overheard : " Oh yes, the sale of work went off very well. They sold everything off the stalls, so then they had to take off their own clothes, and sell them too. But unfortunately it came on to rain, so they had to buy them back again. Miss Oxo made a speech, but it was not a very long one, because we couldn't think of anything for her to say."

Do you say, " Of course, it was a *dolls'* sale of work!"? Oh no, I can't admit that. It was fairyland, where anything may happen, and where nobody is ever surprised.

Later, I spent a delightful week at the manse of Middlebie, and then we visited Old Hoddom Church.

At a lovely bend of the Annan Water, in the green meadows almost opposite Hoddom Castle, and overlooked by the rounded and thickly-wooded hill known as Woodcock Air, there are the remains of the church which was built of Roman stones from the fort of Birrens. The foundations were excavated in 1915, disclosing some three or four courses of masonry at the east end of the nave. The foundations of the side walls were found to rest on two rows of Roman gutter-stones, and a stone marked Leg. VI·VI is bonded into the cross-wall of the chancel. The little graveyard is reached by a footpath from the north end of Hoddom Bridge, but hardly a vestige of the old church shows above the turf to-day.

Hoddum is celebrated in another way, as having been the scene of the preaching of Kentigern or St. Mungo, who lived in the sixth century, the first historic figure associated with Dumfriesshire. Having been appointed bishop by one king, with what is now Glasgow as his see, he was driven into Wales through the hostility of a heathen successor. Then there followed another Christian king, Rydderch, who recalled Kentigern, and a religious revival was inaugurated on the haughs of Hoddum, where the king and many of the people met him on his return. Legend says that the flat ground on which he stood to preach rose on the occasion into a "not inconsiderable little hill" and has so remained. Hoddum, or "Holdelm," as it was formerly spelt, was further honoured by being made the Bishop's see, and therefore became a very important ecclesiastical centre for a short time.

There are the remains of an old graveyard on the summit of Trailtrow, which is supposed to be the "not inconsiderable little hill" of the legend. But it is now known by the name of "Repentance Hill," after the Repentance Tower which stands in the graveyard and forms a landmark for miles round. According to tradition, this tower was erected by Lord Herries as an act of repentance, after he had killed and thrown overboard during a heavy storm a batch of prisoners he had taken in a raid and was transporting across the Solway. The

word "Repentence" is carved in Gothic letters on the lintel of the door, with a bird on one side and a scroll on the other; or, as some interpret them, a dove and a serpent, to represent the harmlessness of the dove and the wisdom of the serpent!

There is a story that Sir Richard Steele was once riding in this neighbourhood when he met a boy reading the Bible, and asked him what he was studying.

"The way to heaven," was the reply.

"And can you show it to me?" asked Sir Richard.

"Yes, go by that tower," said the boy.

Although built to commemorate repentance for a raiding outrage, the tower was put to very practical uses as a watch-tower against retaliatory raids from England.

We find an order issued at the time of the Border frays that "The watch tower upon Trailtrow called Repentance must be mended of the little defacing the English army made of it, and according to the former devise the great bell and the fire-pan put on it; and 'one trew man' have one husband land adjacent for the keeping of the continual watch thereupon."

The "devise" is no doubt a reference to the Border laws, which enjoined that watch should be kept perpetually "on the House head," both in war and in peace, and that in war the beacon in

the fire-pan should never fail to be kept burning so long as the Englishmen remain in Scotland. And a warning bell was to be rung whenever fighting was going on, or when the watchman saw "the Thieves disobedient come over the water of Annand." "And whosoever bides fra the Fray, or turns again so long as the Beaken burns, or the Bell rings, shall be holden as Partakers to the Enemies and used as Traitors."

The pedestal of a Roman altar from Birrens was long built up into a summer-house in the grounds of Knockhill House, near Hoddum, 4 or 5 miles distant from the fort. The inscription shows that the altar was dedicated to Fortune, by Celer, a freedman, for the safety of Publius Campanus, an Italian, prefect of the Second Cohort of Tungrians. Another stone built up with it was a memorial slab to Afutianus, son of Bassus, put up by Flava Bætica, his wife. It is the only tombstone from the site.

This same summer-house had also received into its walls the mutilated fragments of a very beautifully decorated cross from Hoddum, probably eighth-century work. Kentigern's biographer tells us that it was his custom to erect a cross wherever he had made converts or had lived for some time, and this may have taken the place of his original wooden cross. We must not complain of the vandalism which broke up this beautiful cross—even splitting its

fragments across, the better to decorate the summer-house walls !—for we cannot tell that it would not have been wholly lost to us if it had been left in the graveyard of Old Hoddon Church. In general form it must have resembled the celebrated Ruthwell Cross. A figure of “Christ in Majesty” occupied the circle between the arms on both the back and front.

CHAPTER XVIII

BURNSWORK

ON leaving the manse of Middlebie after that memorable breakfast, I made my way towards BURNSWORK, the flat-topped hill which I had first seen several years before from Winshields on Hadrian's Wall, but on which I had never yet set foot. It forms the most prominent natural feature in this neighbourhood. Two very notable Roman forts lie on the lower slopes of the hill, and British stone-built ramparts are on the summit. It is thus a wonderful site, for it gives us the opportunity of visualizing an actual encounter between Romans and Britons such as we get nowhere else. The area of the operations of each is so clearly limited, and so easily grasped, and the romantic character of the situation, on and around this wild and lonely hilltop, could hardly be surpassed anywhere.

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A track believed to be the Roman road runs from Birrens in a north-westerly direction, passing along the foot of Burnswark, and is traceable for a mile or so beyond. I could not find many signs of it

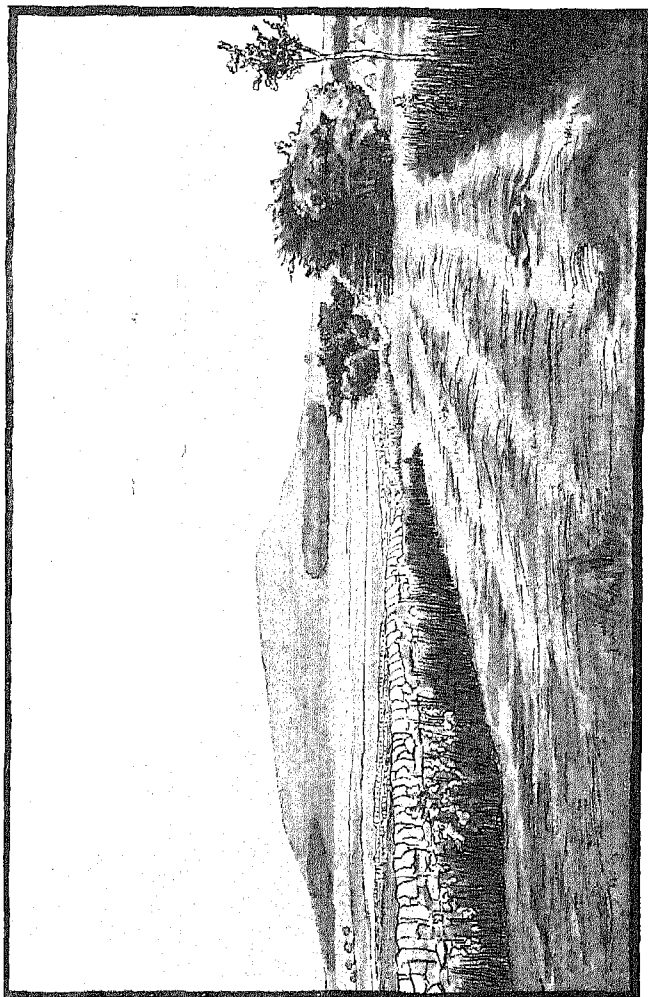


PLATE 11. BURNSWORE AND THE ROMAN ROAD

in the neighbourhood of Middlebie. It apparently passed by Middlebie Hill Farm, along the lane, and then struck across to the deep little gorge of the West Gill, making for the farmyard of Relief (unaccountable name!), through which it cuts. About three furlongs beyond Relief it falls into line with a rough lane still used as an approach to Burnswork. This lane ends abruptly at a gate into a grass field just in front of the hill.

Dr. James Macdonald, writing in 1894, tells us that there had recently been exposed a strip of this road near the farm of Courstein, north-west of Burnswork. It was 18 feet wide, with a rise in the centre of about 6 inches, and had small flattish stones embedded in its surface. It was only covered by a few inches of turf. Farther on, the place where it crosses the river Milk used, he tells us, to be called the Drove Ford. In front of Burnswork Cottage the Roman road is still in use but not for far beyond. Nearer to Courstein I found it as a grassy track, enclosed on one side by a thick hedge of privet and hawthorn, and on the other by gnarled and stunted beech trees growing on an earthen bank. Young cattle were straying along it, prevented from going too far by a gate at each end. Beyond the second gate haymakers had been busy on the very road itself, which was here bordered by a ditch full of rushes, meadow-sweet, and forget-me-nots. As I drew near, the haymakers, who

were sitting down to enjoy mugs of tea by the roadside, greeted me, so I asked if they knew of a Roman road in the neighbourhood. There came a chorus of "Ye're on the Roman road," and they told me it could be traced again near Mosshead.

Codrington, in his *Roman Roads*, mentions this piece of road, under the heading :

"LONGTOWN TO THE WALL OF ANTONINE

"A road branched at Longtown almost at right angles with the road from Carlisle to Netherby, which General Roy described in 1790 as being conspicuous, with vestiges to be seen for many miles together. It crossed the Esk near Longtown Church, pointing towards Gretna, and led to the camp at Birrens near Middlebie, where Horsley placed *Blatum Bulgium*. The road crosses the river (the Mein Water) at the south-west angle, and passes to the south of Birrenswark Hill, about 2 miles to the west, and traces are marked on the Ordnance Map for 3 miles towards the Milk River at Droveford."

There has in the past been much discussion as to the date and origin of the fortifications on Burnswark, but it is now generally accepted that only the two camps to the south and north, on the lower slopes of the hill, are Roman, and that probably these were constructed by Agricola, when he was pushing northwards from Carlisle. Says Professor Haverfield :

“ We can detect him, as it seems, besieging the great hill-fortress of Burnswork, which looks over all the Solway plain and half of Cumberland ” (*The Roman Occupation of Britain*).

It was Alexander Gordon who first drew attention to these remarkable fortifications in his *Itinerarium Septentrionale* (1727). He refers only to the two lower camps, which he rightly classed as Roman, and he imagined that they were connected by a rampart which ran all round the east side of the hill. Fragments of a rampart exist at the north-east angle of the northern camp, but there is no evidence that this was ever a continuous defence as far as the southern camp. When later the British fortifications on the summit were discovered, it was very soon recognized that the lower camps were constructed in order to besiege a body of Britons who had entrenched themselves on the top.

Excavations were carried out on the hill in 1898 by the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland. The rampart of the southern Roman camp was discovered to be of earth with a bonding of branches or brushwood, and to be faced with a pitching of stones on its outer side. The ditch surrounding it was found to be V-shaped, and to be cut 2 feet into the solid rock. The three very noticeable circular mounds, surrounded by ditches, which are

had flanked this entrance, but had been completely buried under the rampart of the later camp.

Mr. R. G. Collingwood carried out some excavation

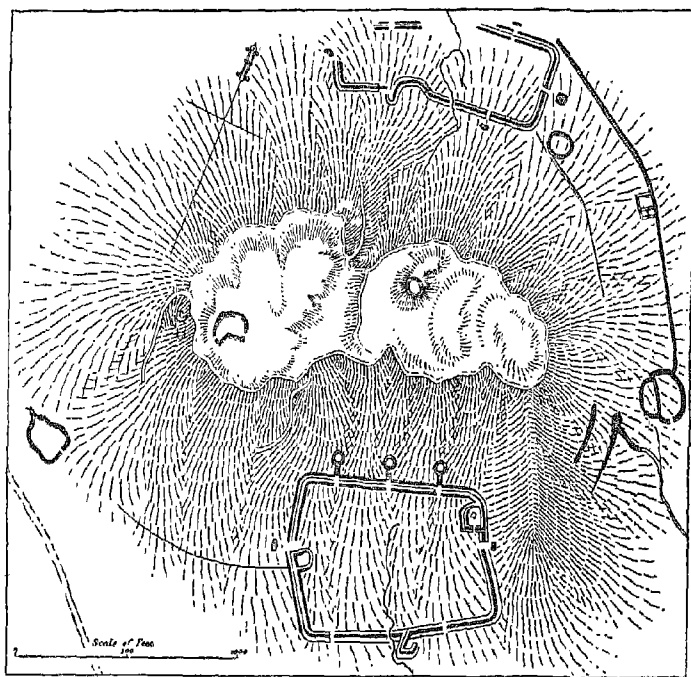


FIG. 43.—Plan of Forts on Burnstock. (After Roy.)

work in 1925 with the particular object of throwing more light on the history and origin of these two Roman camps. He discovered one very important fact, that the more northerly one was never finished.

His general conclusions confirmed the opinion that they were semi-permanent camps constructed with the express purpose of besieging the British fort on the summit. He found the rampart of the northern camp to be 8 feet high, and the ditch-bottom to be 12 to 15 feet below the top of the rampart. The fact that the three mounds of the southern camp are exactly opposite the three southern gates of the British camp on the top, and that one mound of the north fort is opposite the one gate on the north, points clearly to a definite siege, and confirms the idea that these mounds were Roman "gun-emplacements" for ballistæ or ball-throwing machines. Sandstone ballista-balls have been found on the top of the hill; also leaden sling-bullets, some of these actually in the fort itself. Twenty were found at one of the south gates, and twelve at another. Since these leaden sling-bullets (called "glandes" because they were shaped like acorns) were only used up to the close of the first century, their presence may be taken as sure proof that Agricola was concerned in the siege of the hill. From the unfinished condition of the northern camp, it may be judged that the British fort fell before this was completed. The southern camp enclosed the southern water-supply, but there was another stream on the north, and when the Roman commander had obtained sufficient reinforcements he appears to have taken steps to



PLATE 12. SOUTH CAMP ON BURNSWORK WITH THE "THREE BRETHREN."

cut off the northern water-supply also, by constructing the northern camp.

The extreme limit of range of the larger type of ballista was about a quarter of a mile. The small field ballistæ, such as would have been run out from the gates here and placed on the top of "The Three Brethren," would possibly have had a range of 150 to 250 yards—sufficient to reach the top of the hill from the camps.

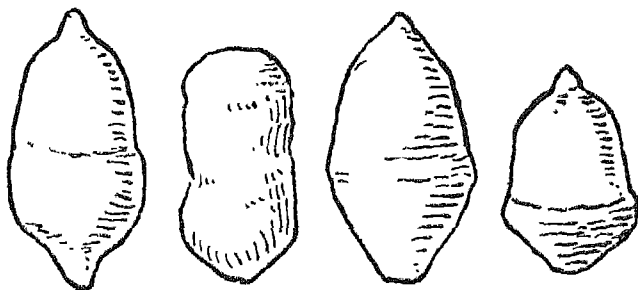


FIG. 44.—Leaden Sling-Bullets from Burnswark.
(From *P.S.A.S.* xxxiii.)

There is a portion of a rampart, earth-built and stone-faced, a little east of the north gate of the British fort. It leads from this gate in the direction of a spring as if intended to protect any one fetching water from this spring from the missiles of the Romans below.

The remarkable features of the Roman camps are seen best in the evening light, when the declining sun throws long shadows of "The Three Brethren"

along the slope of the hill, and makes the height of the mounds appear much more striking.

As to the small objects found, coins of Nero (54-68), Vespasian (69-79), and Trajan (98-117) were picked up in the neighbourhood in about 1727. A beautiful bridle-bit of native origin, now in the National Museum, Edinburgh, was found in a moss near by sometime before 1785. It is a very skilful casting in bronze, ornamented in red and yellow enamel, "with all the care proper to a piece of jewellery"—a good example of the art which our British progenitors taught to the Romans. It shows signs of having been much used, and in some parts has been repaired.

The quantity of pottery unearthed during the excavations of 1898 was quite insignificant, but the number of fragments of iron implements was disproportionately large, from which it would seem that the Roman occupation was "brief but brisk." Some of the sixty-seven sling-bullets found bore unmistakable traces of impact.

The summit of the hill as seen from a distance presents an almost straight line about a third of a mile long. But it is by no means as flat as it appears, and the whole top is surrounded by a rampart which follows the irregular outlines of the edge, forming a British camp of about 17 acres. There are three entrances on the south, and one

on the north. Mr. Barbour, who conducted the excavations of 1898, believed these gates to have been stone-built structures.

The broader western end of the summit is separated from the east end by a low mound running north and south. Within this western enclosure is a small heart-shaped fort surrounded by a mound, in the construction of which dressed stones appear to have been used.

There is a wide and beautiful view from the top, including a shining streak of Solway, with Criffel rising majestically above it; and on a clear day Winshields, on the line of Hadrian's Wall, can be distinguished to the south-east.

The rock formation at the base and sides of the hill is old red sandstone; at the top it is porphyrite. Its eastern end descends precipitously in a bare rock known as Fairy Crag; otherwise the whole summit is clothed with turf. I found it no easy matter to climb the hill, for a spell of hot, dry weather had burnt the grass dry and brown and made it very slippery. The only way was to avoid the smooth sheep-tracks, and to thrust one's feet into rabbit-holes as frequently as possible. The sides are honeycombed with rabbit-holes.

The southern Roman camp contains over 13 acres; the northern, less than 8 acres. The stream in the south camp is known as "Agricola's Well." It has now been dammed up in order to make a

pool for sheep-dipping purposes, and the surface of the ground has been cut about a good deal in the process. The excavators of 1898 stated that they found in the centre of the camp, some 40 or 50 yards east of the stream, "walling, pavement, and débris, evidently of large and important buildings"; but nothing of the sort seems to have been discovered more recently near the stream, and one would hardly expect "large and important buildings" in a semi-permanent camp like this.

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At the foot of the west end of the hill, beyond Burnswark Cottage, there is a triangular enclosure, surrounded by a double rampart with an intervening ditch. It was examined in 1898, but nothing was found which would serve to date it. The only relics were a broken quern and a piece of a glass armlet.

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My long day of "God's summer" turned out very hot and sunny, so the bare, shadeless hilltop became far from comfortable, and I could sympathize with the British who found themselves besieged there, and deprived also of their water-supplies. Finally I was glad to come down and seek shade and refreshment in Burnswark Cottage, where I waited for the grocer's van to come and carry me back to Lockerbie.

.

The neighbourhood of Burnswork has been suggested by historians as the probable site of the song-celebrated battle of Brunanburh, in which Athelstan defeated the combined forces of Anlaf, King of the Irish Danes, Constantine, King of Scots, and Eugenius, King of Strathclyde. This was in 937. The scene of the famous battle was evidently close to some great hill-fortress, for the name Brunanburh occurs in several varying forms, such as Brunandune, Brunanburgh, Etbrunnanwerc, and Brunswerce. The two last come very near to Burnswork, which is the most approved version of the name of our hill. "Birrenswark" is a corruption, due to some confusion with the neighbouring Birrens, and traceable no farther back than Roy.

"It seems probable," writes Dr. Hodgkin, "that Athelstan, marching rapidly northward to meet the confederate hostile armies, met them in the great north-western road in Annandale, near the point where Anlaf Sihtricson had just landed his troops; that the battle raged, as the ballad tells us, *ymbe Brunnanburh*, all round the camp-scarred hill of Burnswork, and that when Anlaf fled 'over the yellow sea' (*on fealene flod*) it was the sand-laden waters of the shallow Solway Firth that witnessed his ignominious flight" (from *The Political History of England*).

My final sight of Burnswork was a never-to-be-

forgotten experience. It was my last evening at Middlebie Manse, and we were still in the garden when suddenly there came an urgent call from the top of the house : " Come up and see the sunset ! " We obeyed, but hardly had we caught a glimpse of the splendour when there came another call : " Let's go and see it from the top of Hazelberry ! " In two minutes we were all in the car, and running a wild race with the sunset up the steep road northwards. We sped past the turning to Scotsbrig, the farmhouse where Carlyle wrote some of his works, and where his mother ended her days. Haymakers returning home from work stopped to gaze at us. Where could we be going at such a pace, and at such an hour ? Little did they know what was at stake, nor how important it was to reach the top of Hazelberry before one iota of the sunset glory had faded. Up and up we flew ; no traffic to meet, no pedestrians to avoid ; nothing to hinder us but the ruts and stones of the rough road over which the car jumped and bumped heedlessly, seeming only to quicken her pace in mounting them. Rabbits forsook their suppers and fled before us. Burnswark appeared on our left from time to time, to spur us on, with crimson fingers stretching out behind and above, like flames rising from a mighty altar.

At last we reached a point where the car could go no farther, and, tumbling out, we hurried through thick heather, to the summit of the down. Now

was the whole glory outspread before us ! We were not far from the level of Burnswork's flat top, and all around and above its massive form, silhouetted dark against the red and golden glow, clouds, feathery like wings, or level like poised lances, caught and reflected the last rays of the sun. Farther north the sky near the horizon was greenish in hue, and deep purple clouds could hardly be distinguished from the most distant mountains. The nearer hills below Burnswork receded one beyond the other like waves of a vast sea. Even as we stood, the radiance increased rather than diminished, until the whole heavens seemed filled with cherubim and seraphim, lifting their glorious wings, and chanting their threefold hymn.

We waited and watched in almost awed silence till all was over, and the stars began to come out in the grey-blue sky. It seemed then as if a great hush had fallen, so close is the connection between colour and sound. Burnswork looked solemn and majestic still as we turned to give it a last look before descending to the road, where the car waited.

I cannot leave the Burnswork neighbourhood without another reference to Thomas Carlyle, for this whole countryside brings the thought of him to mind. Ecclefechan, where he was born and buried, is within 3 miles of both Birrens and Burnswork, and both sites must have been

familiar to the rugged philosopher on his solitary walks.

Ecclefechan, " the church of St. Fechan " (another name for St. Vigeans), is an austere little stone-built village, under the slope of a hill, with a stream running through the main street to join the Mein Water on its way to the Annan and so to the Solway Firth. The house on the village street where Carlyle was born stands just as it did then. His father, James Carlyle, a mason, built it with his own hands for the joint occupation of himself and his brother. A wide archway divided it into two halves for the separate families. It was in the northern half that Carlyle was born, in 1795, and this is now turned into a small museum of portraits and other memorials. The murmur of the stream, "gushing kindly by " within a few yards of the house door, must have been one of the first sounds to greet his infant ears ; and we know how, still in tender years, he would take his bread-and-milk outdoors, and, as he ate it, feast his eyes on the distant western mountains and on the glories of the setting sun.

There are not many in the village who remember him still, and of those who do, there are few that understood him. " They was just puir fowk like oorsels," said one old woman. " I've seen him often, wi' his plaidie roond him ; but he wasna anc to speak to ye ; an' if ye spak to him, ye'd like get

nowt for yer pains. They was a' off-takin' kind o' fowk, they Carlyles; they'd tak' ye off, blunt-like. There was a man I've heerd tell on, a baker, an' he wud gae preachin' a' roond aboot, an' old Jeames Carlyle, he said to him, 'Ye'd be far better bakin' better bread!'

Another villager spoke less grudgingly: "I min' the funeral, same year as I was marriet. It cam' dragglin' doon i' the sleet an' the snaw. An' there were no fowk there—just ane or twa. It was keepit sae quiet. Weel, he didna need fame—he'd *had* it!"

It was by his own choice that he was quietly buried here amongst his own kin. His plain tombstone in the kirkyard bears the one word beneath his name:

HUMILITATE

Opposite to his house we may see another tribute to his memory—a little shop with the proud name RESARTUS CAFE (no accent) painted above the door, followed by the words, "Ice Cream Confections." We may be quite sure that no such luxuries were available to that little Thomas who sat in yellow serge on the coping of the orchard wall and watched the sunsets while he ate his simple supper.

On the road from Ecclefechan to Lockerbie we pass the farm of Mainhill to which the Carlyles moved when Thomas was thirteen, and where

some of his letters to his friend Mitchell were written eleven years later. It is a bleak-looking place set on a hillside in the midst of arable land without a tree near—"This rustic mansion," as he calls it.

Relatives of his still live in Middlebie and the neighbourhood—much-respected members of various professions.

CHAPTER XIX

NETHERBY

THE Roman fort which stood at NETHERBY has really no right to be included in this book at all, for it belongs to Cumberland, not to Scotland, albeit only a mile from the Border. But it forms the link between Hadrian's Wall and Birrens in the Antonine Itinerary, and is the third in the series of Overbie, Middlebie, and Netherbie, so that its place seems to be with the Scottish forts.

Horsley was apparently the first to identify Netherby with the CASTRA EXPLORATORUM of the Itinerary, but it had been described as an ancient site by Leland in the reign of Henry VIII. He wrote :

" Netherby is seven miles north from Cairluel, and Eske river runneth on the north side of it. There hath been mervelus buildings as appeer by ruinus walls, and men alive have seen rynges and staples in the walls, as it had been staves or holds for ships. On the one side of it is the batable ground, so that it is a *limes Angliae & Scotiae*. The ruins be now three miles at least from the flow-

ing water of Sulway sands. The grass groweth now on the ruins of the walls."

Then we have Camden's account a little later :

" On this river (the Eske) where the little village of Netherby presents to view a few poor cottages are such extraordinary and considerable remains of an antient city, that together with the name of the river which runs by it, lead one to suspect that here was *Æsica*. . . . Here lies at present the head of the family of the Grayhams, distinguished by its valour among the borderers ; and in the wall of the house may be read this inscription erected in memory of the emperor Hadrian by the Legio II Augusta.

IMP. CAES. TRA
HADRIANO
AVG
LEG. II. AVG. F."

This stone was not to be found in the eighteenth century when Gordon and Horsley searched for it, and it was thought that during alterations which had been made in the house it was destroyed or lost.

Netherby came into prominent notice as a Roman site in 1732, when the remains of baths were discovered by workmen employed in digging for stones. The site had, no doubt, been used as a quarry for centuries. Of the finding of the baths Mr. Goodman wrote to Mr. Gale in a letter dated 9th November 1732 :

"There is a gradual descent from the principal and oblong fort on the north-west angle towards the Esk, in which several streets are very visible. In one running north and south, on the west side towards the river, by digging among the ruins for stones were discovered two rooms parallel to the street. The southernmost is plainly a cold bath, marked F, in the plan."

In the other room was found an altar dedicated to Fortune, with this inscription :

DEAE SANCTAE
FORTVNAE
CONSERVATRICI
MARCVS AVREL
SALVIVS TRIBVN
VS COH. I. AEL
HISPANORVM
∞ EQ.
V. S. L. M.

("To the holy goddess Fortuna Conservatrix, Marcus Aurelius Salvius, Tribune of the First Ælian Cohort of Spaniards, pays his vow.")

A gold coin of Nero was found at the same time.

Nearly two years later (23rd September 1734) Sir J. Clerk wrote a description of these baths to Mr. Gale :

"This edifice consists of two rooms, which I believe have always been underground, for at this time there are marks of steps to go down to them. The door is finished by three large stones, one at top and two on the sides, each about six feet long, with

marks of bolts and hinges. Each room is about nine or ten feet square, divided from each other by a thin partition of stone, and both under the same arched roof, which the workmen broke down. The outermost served for a little temple of Fortune, and in it the altar was found, with heaps of heads of different animals, particularly oxen and sheep. The inner room was a bath, and in my opinion rather for bathing vessels to stand in than to be filled with water : for though there is a certain cement, composed of lime and beaten bricks, which covers both the floors and walls and is indeed very hard, I have no notion it could ever hold water. The floors of both rooms are covered with large flat stones, and under them is an aqueduct or large empty space or canal, reaching from one end of the building to the other. These floors are covered with the cement about an inch and a half thick, which, I suppose, was because the stones were too cold to stand on. I believe it might be worth our while to imitate this cement in floors underground ; for it seems the beaten brick, which is not very small, served to dry up the moisture of the lime and made it bind immediately. . . . I observed on the pavement scattered about several fragments of fine earthen pots, adorned with figures."

The whole building, we are told, has been "since pulled to pieces for the sake of the materials"—an indication of the very slight importance attached to Roman remains even in comparatively recent times.

Gough added a note in his edition of Camden's *Britannia* (1789) :

“ At Netherby has been found everything that

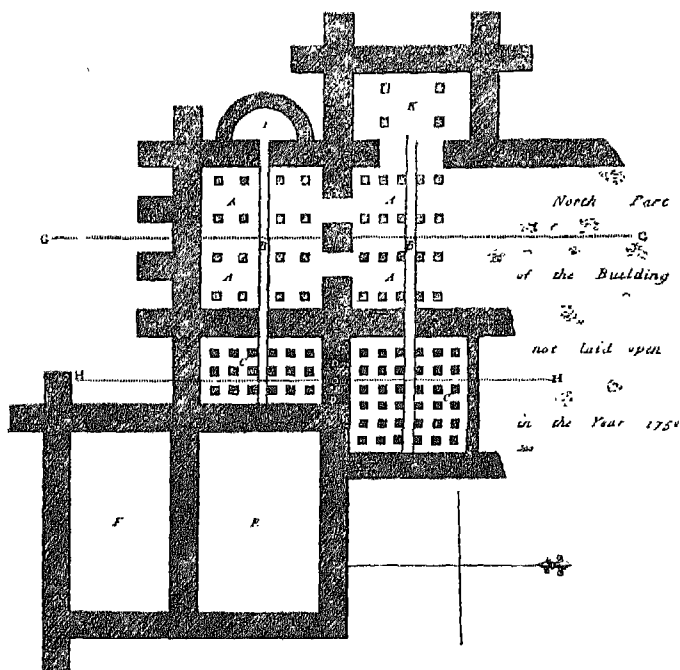


FIG. 45.—Plan of Baths at Netherby. (After Roy.)

denotes it a fixed Roman station. A fine hypocaust was discovered 1745, contiguous to the old bath opened 1732, and the present shrubbery was the burial place, in which some gardeners found the statue in Pl. XII. [the life-sized Genius mentioned

later]. The hypocaust was supported by 54 pillars of solid stone, 36 of which were covered with flags and cement. . . . West of these was another hypocaust supported by 20 pillars of square tiles laid on each other with a little cement between. . . .”

It is to General Roy that we are indebted for the preservation of the plan of the Netherby baths. When he was employed in surveying the neighbourhood of the Esk in 1752, he heard of this remarkable discovery and was determined to secure a record for himself, although by that time all traces of the baths had been swept away. He writes :

“ The plan here referred to was therefore copied from an original drawing, in the possession of the clergyman of Kirk Andrews, situated on the opposite side of the Esk from Netherby ; who had taken care, while the workmen were employed in freeing the foundations from the surrounding rubbish, to measure the several parts of the building accurately, whereby its true figure and dimensions were preserved.”

There are more than thirty inscribed and sculptured stones from Netherby in the Tullie House Museum at Carlisle. Most of these were collected by members of the Graham family and were sent from Netherby to the museum by Sir Richard Graham.

The inscribed stones include five altars, dedicated respectively to Apollo, Jupiter, Mogon, Vetus, and Vetus and Silvanus, with a sixth whose inscription is almost illegible. The name of the god Vetus is very frequently found on rude altars in northern Britain, and at one time it was thought to mean "The old God," more especially since it occurs sometimes in the plural as "Di Veteres," the old gods, as if in contrast to the new God of the advancing Christian faith. But Professor Haverfield, after studying the variations of spelling, came to the conclusion that they were all attempts to represent some foreign name, probably German.

Five inscribed stones record building operations. Of these the most important is a large slab to commemorate the completion of the building of a hall for horse-exercise in the reign of Severus Alexander, in or about A.D. 222. The work was done by the First Ælian Cohort of Spaniards, under the orders of Marius Valerianus, the governor of Britain, and under the supervision of M. Aurelius Salvius, commander of the Cohort. This is the only direct evidence we have of a Roman riding-school in Britain. The slab measures 5 feet 7 inches by 4 feet 4½ inches, and was found covering a drain "of no considerable age."

The complete inscription reads as follows:—

IMP CAES M AVRELIO
 SEVERO ALEXANDRO PIO FEL AVG
 PONT MAXIMO TRIB POT COS PP COH I AEL
 HISPANORVM ∞ EQ DEVOTA NVMINI
 MAIESTATIQVE EIVS BASILICAM
 EQVESTREM EXERCITATORIAM
 IAM PRIDEM A SOLO COEPTAM
 AEDIFICAVIT CONSVMMAVIT QVE
 SVB CVRA MARI VALERIANI LEG
 AVG PR. PR INSTANTE M. AVRELIO
 SALVIO TRIB COH IMP DN.
 SEVERO ALEXANDRO PIO FEL AVG COS.

(" In honour of the Emperor Marcus Aurelius Severus Alexander, the pious and fortunate, Augustus, chief pontifex, holding tribunician power, consul, father of his country ; the First Ælian Cohort of Spaniards, devoted to his deity and majesty, built a basilica for horse-exercise, begun long since, and completed it, under orders of Marius Valerianus, prætorian legate of the Emperor, and under supervision of M. Aurelius Salvius, tribune of the cohort. Erected in the consulship of our Lord Severus Alexander, pious and fortunate.")

Another slab is very difficult to decipher, but appears to have been set up by detachments of the Second and Twentieth Legions and of the First Ælian Cohort of Spaniards. The names of the reigning Emperor and of the governor of Britain, under whom the work was done, have almost disappeared. Experts attribute it to the time of Elagabalus, and suggest *Modus Julius* (whose name appears at Birdoswald) as the name of the governor of Britain.

A fragment of a third slab, recording building or restoration work, is assigned to the middle of the

second century. The name of the governor of the province is partially destroyed, but G. JVL. . . . can be made out. This may stand for Julius Verus, who restored Birrens, A.D. 158.

Another stone indicates the presence at Netherby of a detachment of the Sixth Legion, probably for building or rebuilding, so all three of the great legionary fortresses had representatives here at one time or another. Amongst the sculptured stones occurs the emblem of Leg. II. Adjutrix — the winged horse. The feathers of the wings are very decoratively treated. This legion was withdrawn from Britain at about the time of Agricola's recall, A.D. 84.

Wherever there has been a lengthy occupation we should expect to find memorial tombstones, and one of these was found at Netherby in 1788. It commemorates a lady from Rætia, with the melodious name of Titullinia Pussitta. The first friend to whom I quoted it promptly rechristened her cat.

Of sculpture about a dozen examples are to be seen, but most of them are very rude, as well as much damaged. A life-sized figure of a Genius, standing in a shrine, is much the best piece of work. It is recognized as belonging to the second century. The popular mother-goddesses were worshipped here, and are represented in the usual way, seated side by side, with fruit in their laps.

I found I could visit Netherby very easily from

Lockerbie, by taking the motor-bus to Gretna and there changing for Longtown. The bus route through Kirkpatrick Fleming follows part of the way the probable line of the Roman road from Carlisle to Birrens.

The mushroom town of Gretna, to the south of the famous blacksmith's shop at Gretna Green, sprang up round the munition factories during the war, and now covers a large expanse of the flat land on the edge of the Solway. It has become a sort of suburb of Carlisle. Business men and women in great numbers go daily to and from their work in the old county-town, by motor-car, motor-bus, or train. The river Sark, a tributary of the Esk, forms part of the boundary between Scotland and England, and is crossed a short distance to the east of Gretna, on the road to Longtown.

I had only a few hours for visiting Netherby between the time I was set down at Longtown and the hour fixed for the return bus, so I set off without delay in a northerly direction. Almost immediately it began to rain so heavily that I was obliged to seek shelter under an old archway leading into a little courtyard surrounded by cottages. An old lady in a lilac sunbonnet was sitting in the window of one of the cottages, and she beckoned me into her little house for better protection. She was a true relic of a bygone age, with her sunbonnet, her quaint, delightful courtesy, and her north-country speech.

She told me her name was "Mistress Little of Musgrave's Court," and she was very willing to sit for her portrait while I waited for the rain to stop. It did not stop, but I finally succeeded in getting a hired car to carry me over the 2 miles of country road to Netherby, and to set me down at the lodge gates. There I knocked on the door to make inquiries about entering the private grounds. I had already obtained permission, but I was uncertain whether there was any one occupying the Hall, or whether there were any traces of the Roman occupation which I might miss by not inquiring beforehand. I could hear sounds within the lodge, but my knocking produced no response, so finally I went round to the back door. The lively sounds of a gramophone floated out, and explained why I had not been heard before. The family—father, mother, son, and granddaughter—were all gathered in the kitchen to drink a cup of tea after their midday meal and to hear Harry Lauder on the gramophone. A glowing fire burned in the grate, and hot cakes were just being taken out of the oven. I explained my errand, and was advised to call at Crofthead, the house of Captain Fergus Graham, a few minutes' walk down the road. Seeing the rain was still falling in torrents, they begged me to stay by the fire for a bit. So there I sat and ate my lunch in comfort, with supplements of hot cakes and tea.

At Crofthead I learnt that Captain Graham was away, but the factor was able to tell me all I needed to know. Netherby Hall itself stands exactly on the site of the Roman fort, and traces of buildings have been found in many parts, but no systematic excavation has ever been carried out and no plan exists except the one of the baths. Gough adds the following note in his edition of Camden's *Britannia* (1789) :

“ The Rev. Mr. Graham's house stands on the site of the station, on a rising ground washed by the Esk ; and the country round him is a creation of his own. From a barren wild it became as rich as the rest which environed it. By the irruption of Solway Moss, 1769, a tract worth £400 a year was reduced to a bog.”

Draining, manuring, planting, and building villages, he tells us, were the methods employed by Mr. Graham to increase the value of the estate from £2000 to £13,000 a year.

I found parts of the park were beautifully wooded. Alongside the drive to the Hall, which is nearly a mile long, tall fir trees stood, some festooned from their very summits with brilliant scarlet *tropæolum*. Then came a wide expanse of grassland with only scattered trees. The mound on which the house stands has the appearance of being partly artificial, and there is little doubt that it covers the remains

of several successive periods of Roman occupation. The Esk has probably changed its course, flowing now farther to the west. Thus the baths would have been closer to the river in Roman times.

It is difficult to believe that this quiet park was once the scene of all the busy life and activity of an important Roman fort, whence bands of Exploratores were sent out to the more remote regions. There would certainly have been Roman boats on the river. Perhaps the Solway itself extended in those days across the flat lands which it swamped in 1769, so that Roman galleys could have brought troops by sea from Uxellodunum (Maryport) and landed them here under the fort walls.

A stone from Netherby in the Tullie House Museum gives evidence that the sailors of the *Classis Britannica* (British fleet) assisted in building-work at this western end of the frontier. A similar stone belongs undoubtedly to Birdoswald, and it is possible that the Netherby stone may have travelled from there. But what more likely place than Netherby for sailors to be landed to help in restorations after a native rising ?

LIST OF ROMAN SITES DEALT WITH OTHER THAN THOSE ALONG THE
ANTONINE WALL

Name of Fort	Acreage.	Garrison	Legion	River	Railway Station.	Excavated
Channelkirk .	?	50	..	Raughy Burn	Oxton	1924
Crichton .	..	.		Tyne Water	Tynehead	..
Inveresk .	..	.	.	Esk	Musselburgh, or Inveresk	
Cramond .	.	5th Cohort of Gauls	II and XX	Almond	Barnton; or motor-bus from Edin- burgh	
Camelon .	nearly 6	..	XX	Carron	Falkirk	1900
Ardoch .	5	1st Cohort of Hispani		Knaack Water	Greenloaning	1890-7
Kaims Castle .	about $\frac{1}{4}$	.		.	Muthill	1900
Strageath .	5	..		Earn	Innerpeffray	..
Carpow .	..	..		"	Abernethy	.
Dealgin Ross .	..	.	.	Earn and Ruch- ill Water	Comrie	.

LIST OF ROMAN SITES DEALT WITH 277

Gask . . .	over 4½	..	..	..	Earn	Dunning	1900
Inchtuthil Camp .	50	..	..	..	Tay	Murthly	1901
Lyne . . .	4·8	..	..	..	Lyne Water	Lyne or Peebles	1900
Carstairs . . .	nearly 7	..	..	..	Clyde	Carstairs Junction	..
Cleghorn . . .	39	..	..	..	Mouse	Cleghorn Junction	..
Little Clyde Camp	over 33	..	..	..	..	..	..
Gilnockie . . .	25 to 30	..	..	..	..	Gilnockie	..
Raeburnfoot. Inner fort . .	about 5 over 1	..	..	..	White Esk and Rae Burn	Langholm	1897-8
Birrens (BLATO- BULGIUM)	3·9	2nd Cohort of Tungrians 1st Cohort of Germans, "Nerva's Own"	VI.	..	Main Water and Middlebie Burn	Kirtlebridge	1895
Burnswork— South Camp . North Camp .	over 13 nearly 8	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..	Ecclefechan ..	1898 & 1925
Netherby (CASTRA EXPLORATORIUM)	..	1st Cohort (Ælian) of Hispani	II. VI. XX.	Esk	Longtown	Longtown	..